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ABSTRACT

This collection of materials and ideas is designed for the high school student who wants to try to influence society. The guide provides background information and descriptions of experience-based learning activities for use by students as they explore political involvement opportunities in their communities. The purposes of the materials are to help students understand how to become involved in the political process and to teach them to use positive and negative political means to make the system respond to their needs. Section I deals with gaining political power through working for a political candidate. Topics discussed include choosing a candidate, volunteer workers, dirty tricks, campaign finances, voter registration, and election laws. Section II discusses some of the problems and methods for dealing with people and institutions who have power which they did not gain from the ballot box--local governments, school districts, and business corporations, for example. In the third section suggestions are offered for working with various levels of government on specific problems. Articles on liberals, conservatives, privacy, and corruption are presented in Sections IV, V, and VI. Each section presents numerous informative articles, question-answer surveys, political belief exercises, project descriptions, suggestions for a daily journal, outlines for personal research sheets, goals and objectives, excerpts from relevant laws, and legal forms. (Author/DB)

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UNIT III

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

In working through this unit many career possibilities will occur to you. The Student Guide for Career Analysis (Unit I), particularly the self-assessment section, will help you evaluate these potential careers in terms of your interests and values. You should, therefore, work through the Student Guide for Career Analysis before beginning this unit.

SO 009 706

Community Involvement/Career Education:
An Experience-based Social Studies Program

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Funded as a joint project between the Minnesota State Department of Vocational Education and School District 281, Robbinsdale Area Schools.

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II.	The Aged in America	Green
→ III.	Political Involvement	Pink
IV.	Early Childhood Education	Yellow
V.	The Physically Handicapped; the Mentally Handicapped	Beige

These units are each a compilation of materials from a multitude of sources. They are intended for use in many ways, according to the needs and interests of the specific social studies students taking part in this community involvement program. In order to prepare the materials as quickly as possible, many of the items are included in their original form.

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INTRODUCTION

This collection of materials and ideas is for the student who wants to try to influence his or her society. They illustrate that people who care enough to get involved in the processes of change can make a difference.

The materials neither argue for total cooperation with "the system" nor for people to act collectively to withdraw their cooperation from "the system." In our society, where the decision-making process is a complex mixture of laws, court decisions, politicians, values, pressure groups, profit, etc., individuals need to know how to use both positive and negative means to make the system respond to their needs.

The first section deals with gaining political power. If you are interested in working for a candidate, look at this section for ideas and projects.

The next section covers some of the problems and methods for dealing with people who have power in our society but did not necessarily gain it through the ballot box.

The third section suggests ways to work with or against various levels of government. If you think something should be done about a problem, look through the materials and suggestions in this section.

The last section is a collection of articles on liberals and conservatives, corruption, and privacy.

These materials and projects are only a beginning list of what is available to read or to do. Your instructor or a librarian can help you if you want to design your own research project or your own problem-solving technique.

WORKING FOR A POLITICAL

CANDIDATE

WORKING FOR A POLITICAL CANDIDATE

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INTRODUCTION AND DIRECTIONS

Directions: Read the article "Young People in Local Politics," the "Introduction," and "Questions and Projects." Use the ideas for projects or as suggestions for possible projects not as a limit of what you can do. Select a research or involvement project. Go to work on it. Keep a diary of your experiences and feelings.

Introduction: Every government is some kind of system. It may be a democracy or dictatorship, communism or fascism.

Democracy is the system used in our country. It can work for all people as well as it works for those who know how to use it. It can work for you if you are willing to learn about the system and then take the initiative to make it work.

This section will help you to understand how individuals gain power by being elected to political office. It will also help you to develop the skills necessary to help the candidate of your choice gain political power.

Gaining political power or helping the candidate of your choice gain power seems like a rather simple process. All you have to do is: Register to vote, join a political party and become active, go to the party caucus every two years and work for issues and candidates you believe in, donate time and money to the candidates or party of your choice, and then vote on election day.

The materials in this section are organized to aid you in doing one or all of these steps.

When the campaign is over, use the questions in the section to evaluate your experiences. You can also use the questions as a guide for writing a narrative of your experiences.

Goals and Objectives: Some of the goals and objectives for this section are listed below. They are not listed in order of importance. You can rank them in the order you think they should be in when you have finished your project.

The student should understand:

Why the pace of change is often slow.

Why the decisions made are not always satisfactory to those that asked for the change.

The steps necessary to bring about, stop, slow down, or speed up any change in your community.

How and why organizations operate the way they do.

Why various kinds of people get involved in the decision making process.

Why "people" can make a difference in governmental decisions.

Why trying to influence your society can be both very rewarding and very frustrating.

UNIT III: POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

Why there are more than two sides to any question

Why there are many ways to shift the responsibility for decisions made.

Why there are all kinds of career possibilities available in government.

Suggested Daily Journal: The journal is for you -- to help you reconstruct, think, and feel about your involvement experiences. Processing or working through your perceptions and feelings are how you can gain the most from your experiences and the experiences of others.

How you write or develop your journal is also up to you. You might want to put "what happened" on the left-side of the pages with room for your feelings/ reactions in liberal right-hand margins. Or you might want to focus on the following questions: In this session what did I learn about myself? What about myself did I share with others? What did I learn about interaction? What did I learn about the other individuals?

Each day write a paragraph or two reporting on your experiences. The questions below suggest the kinds of things you can write about, but do not feel that you must limit your report to these questions if there is something else you would prefer to write about. You can probably write on one or two questions, and you can choose the ones that seem to relate to things that happen that day. Briefly describe the situation and reasons for your feelings.

1. How did your feelings about any person change as a result of this day's activities? Why?
2. How similar is your impression of yourself to the impression others have of you? Explain.
3. Were you surprised by any of the things people said about you? Explain.
4. What were some things you wanted to say today and did not say?
5. What did you do today which made you feel proud? Why?
6. What problems did you encounter?
7. What happened that made you feel uncomfortable or unhappy?
8. What criticisms did you receive and how did you respond to them?
9. What compliments were you given and what did they mean to you?
10. What did you do that seemed to be effective or ineffective in your relationship with others?
11. What did you do in your work that was enjoyable or satisfying?
12. What new task did you learn to perform?
13. How do you think you might need to change to succeed in a preferred career field?
14. What happened that made you feel you would (or would not) like (your choice) as a lifetime career?
15. Tell about the best thing that happened to you this week; something someone said or did, something you said or did, a feeling, an insight, a goal accomplished, etc.

This exercise taken, in part, from Pilot Training Project for Teachers of Distribution and Marketing, University of Minnesota, Summer 1967

WORKING FOR A POLITICAL CANDIDATE

Questions and Projects

Directions: Do the questions that are related to your project or use the projects listed to design your own project. The first 10 questions are for those who have either worked in a campaign or read a book about a campaign.

_____ 1. What did the candidate do that was not listed in the "how to" lists? What did he or she not do that was in the "how to" lists? What effect do you think this had on the election?

_____ 2. What did your candidate's opponent do or not do that was in the "how to" manuals? What effect did this have on the outcome of the election?

_____ 3. What kind of an image did the candidate try to project? How? What image did your opponent try to project of your candidates? How? What image did the voter have of your candidate?

_____ 4. What kind of image did your opponent try to project? How? What kind of an image did your candidate try to project of your opponent? How? What image do you think the voters had?

_____ 5. How much money did each of the candidates spend in this campaign? Where did it come from? How did they budget it? Would you have spent it differently? Why?

_____ 6. How much time did the candidates spend on the campaign? How did they budget their time? Would you have done it differently?

_____ 7. Describe the staff and working conditions during the campaign. What kinds of decisions were made by the staff?

_____ 8. What do you think motivated your candidate and his or her opponent to put in so much time, effort and money into this election? What do you think motivated the workers?

_____ 9. Once the campaign is over read back through your diary.

What were your feelings during the campaign?
What were the major turning points in the campaign?
What have you learned about the process of gaining power?
What have you learned about the people that run for political power and those that work for them?
Would you do it again? Why or why not?
Would you like to be a politician?

_____ 10. What reforms would you suggest for the elective process? Why? What effect would they have? Who do you think would oppose them? What group would be for them?

_____ 11. Assume that you are a campaign manager for the candidate of your choice. Based on the demographic data available and your goals for the campaign, what type of a campaign would you run?

_____ 12. Send to the various political parties for information on why you should join their party. Compare the material you receive with the material in the packet from 1968 and 1972. Are the parties trying to change their image? Use the Author Analysis questions to analyze the materials.

_____ 13. Recent studies indicate that more voters register as independents. In 1971, about 20 percent of the electorate refused to join either party, and in the young voters, 45% refused to join either party. Why do you think this trend has developed? Do you think that this trend will continue? If so, what will the effects be on the political system? If not, which party do you think will gain the most?

_____ 14. Research third party movements in the U.S.A.

_____ 15. What did the candidates in the last election do to attract the independent voters?

_____ 16. What did the candidates in the last election do to counteract any attempts by third parties to gain political power?

_____ 17. What is your reaction to the quote: "The public attention span, so far as public affairs are concerned on TV is about two minutes and 15 seconds." If you were in charge of publicity for a candidate, how would you go about getting him or her the "best" exposure in the media?

_____ 18. Make a slide-tape presentation of the election you worked in or studied about.

_____ 19. Keep a collection of the materials that were used by the candidates in your election. Analyze it as to its effects on the outcome of the vote.

_____ 20. Keep a collection of the key local, national or international events that took place during the election. What effect do you think they had on the outcome of the election? Why?

_____ 21. Keep a collection of the media response to the election. Analyze it as to its effect on the election.

_____ 22. Read a book or watch a movie about an election that is on the same government level as the election you worked in. Compare the two.

_____ 23. Find background materials on the types of people that tend to run for office and/or the kinds of people that tend to work in politics. Interview the candidate you are working for or the people you are working with or that work behind the scenes in politics. Use some of the questions in the Student Guide for Career Analysis. Did the people interviewed fit the "stereotype"?

_____ 24. Write or visit the offices of the political parties. Collect their promotional materials. Compare their statements with those made in 1968 and 1972.

_____ 25. Research why people join a political party. Develop a poll based on the findings and poll your classmates to see if the findings are valid for them. (Ask your instructor or a librarian for resources to help you in designing the poll.)

_____ 26. Take the general census data from 1970 for your community. Make a hypothesis on the changes in political party preferences since 1970. Set up a random sample, develop an instrument to measure the change and then poll your community. Was your hypothesis valid? How do you explain what you found? (Ask your instructor or a librarian for some resources to help you in designing this project.)

_____ 27. Write and ask for copies of the state and/or national party budgets. Where does their money come from? Who determines how it is spent? What laws regulate the collection and spending of money?

_____ 28. Get a recent copy of the platforms of the parties. Compare the pre-election statements, and post election statements and actions of the politicians with their platforms.

_____ 29. Do a study of the third party candidates that are running in this election. Compare them as to budgets, images, membership, positions on issues, etc.

_____ 30. Research election reforms. What reforms became law since the last election? What were the results of the reform on this election? What other reforms are proposed at the state or national level? What effect do you think they would have on the election process? What reforms do you think should become law? Why?

_____ 31. Do a research project on money in politics. (Read the articles on money in politics.) Where does it come from? What effects have recent campaign financing reforms had? What other reforms do you think are necessary?

Political Participation Hierarchy
Source: Political Participation
Lester W. Milbrath, Rand McNally,
Chicago, Ill., 1965, pp. 17-20

About one third of the American adult population can be characterized as politically apathetic or passive; they are unaware of the political part of the world around them. Another 60 percent play largely spectator roles in the political process; they cheer, they vote, but they do not do battle. In the purest sense of the word, probably only 1 or 2 percent could be called gladiators.

The divisions in this chart are reminiscent of the roles played at a Roman gladiatorial contest. A small band of gladiators battle fiercely to please the spectators, who have the power to decide their fate. The spectators in the stands cheer, transmit messages of advice and encouragement, and, at given periods, vote to decide who has won a particular battle (election). The apathetics do not bother to come to the stadium to watch the show.

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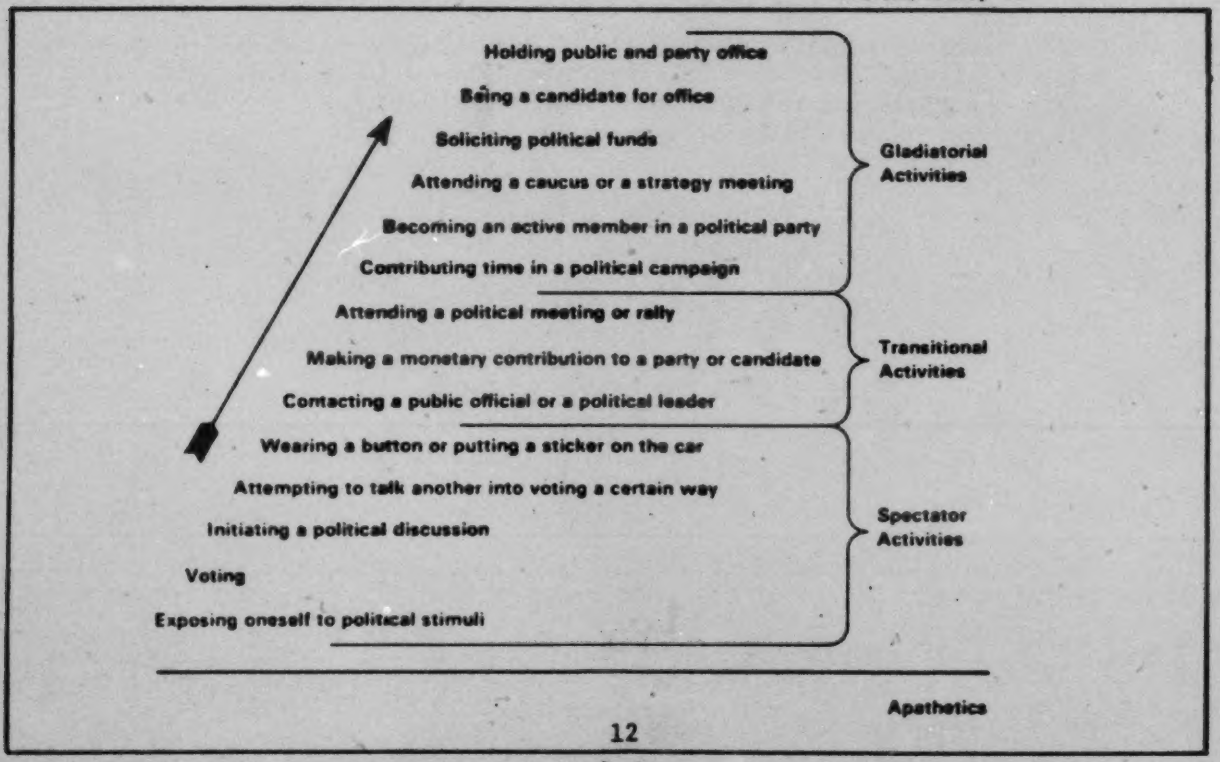
Hierarchy of Political Involvement*

Milbrath, 1965, p. 18


Holding public and party office
Being a candidate for office
Soliciting political funds
Attending a caucus or a strategy meeting
Becoming an active member in a political party
Contributing time in a political campaign
Gladiatorial Activities
Attending a political meeting or rally
Making a monetary contribution to a party or candidate
Contacting a public official or a political leader
Transitional Activities
Wearing a button or putting a sticker on the car
Attempting to talk another into voting a certain way
Initiating a political discussion
Voting
Exposing oneself to political stimuli
Spectator Activities
Apathetics

AUTHOR QUESTIONS

When reading any source, the accuracy of the material can be assessed by answering questions:

1. What are the writer's qualifications?
   - A. What is his occupation? Political affiliation?
   - B. Did he have a personal stake in the problem about which he is writing?
2. What are his sources of information?
   - A. Are they primary or secondary?
   - B. Are they written by authorities in the field?
   - C. Do the sources used represent more than one side of the question?
3. How does the author use his information?
   - A. How recent is the information? Date published? (Check backside of title page)
   - B. Does he include an adequate sample of data to form conclusions?
   - C. Have important views been omitted?
   - D. Are sources listed? Are footnotes used?
4. In what tone of language does he write?
   - A. Does he appeal to reason or to emotion?
   - B. Does he use mostly fact or opinion?
   - C. Does he fail to mention important points of view? (see the introduction.)
   - D. How many emotional words does he use?
5. What is the purpose for writing?
   - A. Is he writing to convince or to inform?
   - B. Is the source published chiefly to sell or to inform?
   - C. Does he admit his prejudices?
6. To what extent does the author reflect the values of his times and his culture?
   - A. When was the information published?
   - B. What were the general outlooks of that society at that time?
   - C. To what extent does his writing reflect A and B above?
   - D. To what extent does he write in terms of his cultural values?

SOURCE: Nadine Clark, A GUIDE TO EFFECTIVE THINKING, pp. 20-21
Revised and adapted by M. M. Welter, Ph.D.

Voter Registration

If you are over 18 years old and have not registered to vote, you can do so by mail. Go to the service window in the Social Studies Resource Center and pick up a Voter Registration Form. (See sample below.)

ORIGINAL VOTER REGISTRATION CA

VOTER REGISTRATION CARD

Read instructions before completing – Please type or print in ink

County, _____

Telephone numbe[r] _____ First _____ Middle _____

W. _____ P. _____

Previous name (if changed) _____

S. D. No. _____

OFFICE USE ONLY

Last previous address (if any) _____ Street or Route No. _____

City, Village or Township _____ County _____ State _____

Address of last previous registration (if any) _____ Street or Route No. _____

Apt. No. _____ City, Village or Township _____ County _____ State _____ Zip _____

BE SURE TO CHECK INSTRUCTIONS TO DETERMINE WHETHER YOU ARE QUALIFIED TO REGISTER

I certify that I will be at least 18 years old on election day and that the above facts are correct. I understand that giving false information to procure a registration is a felony punishable by not more than five years imprisonment and a fine of not more than $5,000.00 or both.

/ / X

DO NOT TEAR OFF

INSTRUCTIONS FOR VOTER REGISTRATION

Eligible voter means a person who at the time of any election:

(a) is 18 years of age or older,
... citizen of the United States and
restored ... Minnesota for 20 days.
(b) Any person who is ...
(c) Any person who is adjudicated to ...
(d) Any person who is not properly registered.

... has not been

GIVING FALSE INFORMATION TO PROCURE A REGISTRATION OR ATTEM... TO REGISTER WHEN NOT QUALIFIED ARE FELONIES PUNISHABLE BY NOT MORE THAN 5 YEARS IMPRISONMENT OR A FINE OF NOT MORE THAN $5,000 OR BOTH.

(OVER FOR REMAINDER OF INSTRUCTIONS)

SIGN THIS CARD – DO NOT COMPLETE

The information will be typed by voter registration office

Name _____ First _____ ... _____ W. ____

Mail ... _____

Apt. No. _____ City, ...age or Township _____ State _____ Zip _____

BE SURE TO CHECK INSTRUCTIONS TO DETERMINE WHETHER YOU ARE QUALIFIED TO REGISTER.

_____ / / _____ DATE

X _____ SIGNATURE

For identification only

Political Caucus Information

WHAT IS A PRECINCT CAUCUS?

The precinct is the smallest geographic political unit. The caucus is the first step on the political ladder. It is the only occasion when all people of the same political party have the opportunity to express themselves in a meaningful way on party issues, candidates, party officers and delegates.

WHO IS ELIGIBLE TO ATTEND?

Any resident of the precinct who will be 18 by the next state general election, has supported the party's candidates in the past, or who intends to in the next election, and is in general agreement with the principles of the party.

WHEN IS THE PRECINCT CAUCUS HELD?

Precinct caucuses are held the fourth Tuesday of February in every even numbered year. Thus they are held early in the same year as state wide and national elections.

WHERE IS THE PRECINCT CAUCUS HELD?

The precinct caucus announcements list the time and place of the caucus and are published in the local newspapers two weeks before the caucus. In addition to the notice of the caucus, another notice must be posted for six days before the caucus at the caucus location. Caucuses are usually held at the polling place for the precinct, in schools or community centers. Several caucuses may be held in the same building - be sure you are at the right one!

WHY PRECINCT CAUCUSES?

The precinct caucuses are the basis for the two party system. The caucus insures that the two parties are open to all people, and exclude no people or groups. Citizens can make their voice heard on any issue of any size, and discuss and comment on candidates for all offices. Decisions concerning party officers, candidates and platforms start at the precinct level.

WHAT IS DONE AT A PRECINCT CAUCUS?

The people in each precinct elect delegates to represent them at the party conventions. The resolutions are adopted reflecting the will of the people present, party officers for the precinct are elected, and candidates for all offices may be endorsed or supported. Any eligible person attending a caucus amy be elected a delegate, alternate or party officer. Any person may also present a resolution.

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MINNESOTA ELECTION LAWS* PERTAINING TO PRECINCT CAUCUSES

202.22 Precinct caucus

Subdivision 1. Time and manner of holding. On the fourth Tuesday in February in every election year there shall be held for every election precinct a party caucus in the manner provided by law.

Subd. 3. Notice. The county or legislative district chairman shall give two weeks' published notice and at least six days' posted notice at the regular polling place of the holding of the precinct caucus, stating the place, date, and time for holding the caucus.

202.23 Time and place of caucus

Subdivision 1. The hour for convening all caucuses throughout a county shall be uniform. No caucus shall be convened before 2:00 p.m. nor later than 9:00 p.m., and the caucuses shall remain open for at least one hour.

Subd. 2. The precinct caucuses shall be held at the regular polling places for each precinct or other suitable places designated in the call and no caucus may be adjourned to any other place or time.

202.24 Caucus, who may participate and vote

Subdivision 1. Only those persons who are qualified to vote for candidates for federal office in the precinct as defined by Minnesota election law, or who will be qualified to so vote at the time of the next general election, may vote or be elected a delegate or officer at the precinct caucus.

Subd. 2. Only those persons who are in agreement with the principles of the party as stated in the party's constitution, and who either voted or affiliated with the party at the last general election or intend to vote or affiliate with the party at the next general election, may vote at the precinct caucus.

Subd. 3. In case the right of a person to participate at the caucus is challenged, the question of his right to participate shall be decided by a vote of the whole caucus. A person so challenged may not vote on the question of his right to participate.

Subd. 4. No person may vote or participate at more than one party's caucuses in any one year.

202.25 Caucus, business

Each precinct caucus shall elect a chairman and such other officers as may be provided by party rules, and the proper number of delegates to congressional district, county, or legislative district conventions as determined by the party's call. The caucus may also discuss party policies, candidates, and any other business as prescribed by party rules.

202.26 Caucus, chairman, nominations

Subdivision 1. The convener shall be the temporary chairman of the caucus.

Subd. 2. Nominations for the election of officers and delegates shall remain open for at least the first half hour of the caucus.

Subd. 3. All voting shall be by secret ballot.

Subd. 4. Upon completion of the counting of votes the chairman shall announce the names of persons who are elected, and he shall certify the names to the chairman of the county or legislative district executive committee and to the chairman of the state central committee.

202.27 Caucus, conduct

All questions concerning the manner in which a caucus is conducted or called that are not covered by statute shall be determined by Robert's Rules of Order (revised) unless otherwise specified by party rules.

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*abridged

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE AT A GLANCE

To do this: (1)	You say this:	May you interrupt speaker?	Must you be seconded	Is the motion debatable?	Is the motion amendable?	What vote is required?
Adjourn meeting	"I move that we adjourn."	No	Yes	No	No	Majority Vote
Recess the meeting	"I move that we recess until..."	No	Yes	No	Yes	Majority Vote
Complain about noise, temperature, etc.	"Point of Privilege."	Yes	No	No(2)	No	No (3) Vote
Suspend further consideration of something	"I move we table it."	No	Yes	No	No	Majority Vote
End debate	"I move the previous question."	No	Yes	No	No	Two-thirds Vote
Postpone consideration of something	"I move we postpone this matter until . . ."	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority Vote
Have something studied further	"I move we refer this matter to a committee."	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority Vote
Amend a motion	"I move that this motion be amended by..."	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority Vote
Introduce business (a primary motion	"I move that..."	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority Vote

1. The motions or points above are listed in established order of precedence. When any one of them is pending, you may not introduce another that is listed below it, but you may introduce another that is listed above it.

2. In this case, any resulting motion is debatable.

3. Chair decides

To do this: (1)	You say this:	May you interrupt speaker?	Must you be seconded?	Is the motion debatable?	Is this motion amendable?	What vote is required?
Object to procedures or to a personal affront	"Point of Order"	Yes	No	No	No	No Vote Chair decides
Request Information	"Point of information."	Yes, if urgent	No	No	No	No Vote
Ask for a vote by actual count to verify a voice vote	"I call for a decision of the house"	No (2)	No	No	No	No vote unless someone objects
Object to considering some undiplomatic or improper matter.	"I object to consideration of this question."	Yes	No	No	No	Two-thirds Vote
Take up a matter previously tabled	"I move we take from the table.."	No	Yes	No	No	Majority Vote
Reconsider something already disposed of.	"I move we now (or later) reconsider our action relative to..."	Yes	Yes	Yes, if original motion is debatable	No	Majority Vote
Consider something out of its scheduled order.	"I move we suspend the rules and consider."	No	Yes	No	No	Two-thirds Vote
Vote on ruling by the chair	"I appeal the chair's decision.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority Vote

1. The motions, points, and proposals listed above have no established order of precedence. Any of them may be induced at any time - except when the meeting is considering one of the top three matters on the other side.
2. But divisions must be called for before another motion is started.
3. Then majority vote is required.

Prepared by Republican State Central Committee

CANDIDATE TALLY CHART

Directions: Write the sub-totals for each candidate that were yielded by your responses to each section of the "Checklist," in the appropriate spaces below.

	Personal Qualities		Demographic Characteristics		Issues		Total	
Candidate	Nega-tive	posi-tive	Nega-tive	Posi-tive	Nega-tive	Posi-tive	Nega-tive	Posi-tive
Democrat								
Republican								
Independent								

Answer these questions about your responses to the "Presidential Candidate Checklist" and the "Candidate Tally Chart."

1. What qualities of the candidates do you value most?

2. Why do you value these qualities?

3. Which of the current candidates possesses more of the qualities which you value? Explain.

Volunteer Workers: The Personal Appeal

The purpose of a political campaign is to address a persuasive request to every registered voter to support your candidate at the polls. To get the attention of every voter, though, is often times both difficult and expensive. Some voters cannot be reached by either the media or other more traditional campaigning methods such as coffee parties or local debates or rallies. The voters who are committed to either party or a candidate tend to be reached by these methods. The uncommitted voter, who often determines the outcome of an election, is not always reached by these more mass methods of campaigning. A way to reach many of these voters is to make a personal contact with them to ask them to vote for your candidate.

A way to reach many of these voters is to make a personal contact with them and ask them to vote a certain way...The personal appeal is a good political technique because if the person called upon is not strongly committed to a candidate a plea for his or her vote may be the compelling reason for making a choice between candidates on Election Day.

The candidate cannot knock on every door and personally ask the voter to vote for him or her. The next best thing is to have someone knock on doors on behalf of the candidate. This is one job that volunteer workers can do in their own local area to influence the uncommitted voter to vote for the candidate and to insure that those already committed to him or her will also get out and vote on election day.

Volunteer workers usually work under the direction of a coordinator. It is important to follow the directions given as to time, place and method of the personal contacts. If for any reason you cannot follow through with your door to door campaign, it is very important that you personally contact the coordinator and let him or her know. Don't fake it!

When calling, either by phone or door to door, the following suggestions are to be kept in mind:

1. Always identify yourself. If the candidate provides an identification tag, wear it.
2. Speak clearly, slowly and in a friendly, positive manner.
3. Never argue. It is not your job to win arguments but to make a personal appeal for votes.
4. Don't mention or run down the opposition candidate or party.
5. Dress appropriately.
6. If you are using the phone have a script and follow it. If the candidate doesn't provide you with one, ask for some suggestions and then write your own.
7. If you are calling door to door practice what you are going to say on some friends and neighbors until you are comfortable doing it.

   A sample solicitation might be: "Good Morning, I'm Jan Anderson. I live at 3632 Blaine Ave. North. I'm a volunteer out working for State Representative Bob Smith. I'm going to vote for him and I hope you will too. Here is a pamphlet about Mr. Smith. I hope you'll read it and share it with the other members of your family. Thank you."
8. Be honest. "I don't know," is an honest answer to a question that you don't know the answer to.
9. Don't oversell. A brief, friendly personal appeal will leave more good feelings than a long political discussion.
10. Carry a notebook and pencil. Jot down names and addresses of potential workers, questions, suggestions for the candidate, etc.

Working as a volunteer caller is very threatening at first. It can also be very rewarding because you are personally involved in and influencing the outcome of the election.

Young People In Local Politics

Local elections also require the candidates to plan and run a campaign. He or she has to attract voters by speaking to civic groups and coffee parties, sending out press releases, putting up signs, calling door to door, researching issues, etc. Only they do it with a much smaller budget and an all volunteer staff.

The following suggestions are based on experiences other young people have had in working with local politicians. Show them to the candidate you volunteer to work for and get his or her response to them. It might influence your decision.

1. Meet with the young people that think they want to work in your campaign. Exchange ideas with them. Explain what you would like to do and why and then listen to their ideas for your campaign.

2. Plan your campaign and incorporate as many of their ideas as you honestly can.

3. Meet again with all your workers and explain your plan. Assign specific jobs to those who want to help. Have specific dates that they are to be completed by. If possible, have a short follow-up report turned in on a 3x5 card.

4. Don't underestimate the ability or the enthusiasm of young people. They can work together to:

   Make phone calls.
   Plan and make literature drops.
   Get permission to put up signs.
   Put up and take down signs.
   Organize and take opinion polls.
   Help get out the voters.
   Vote, if over 18 years of age.

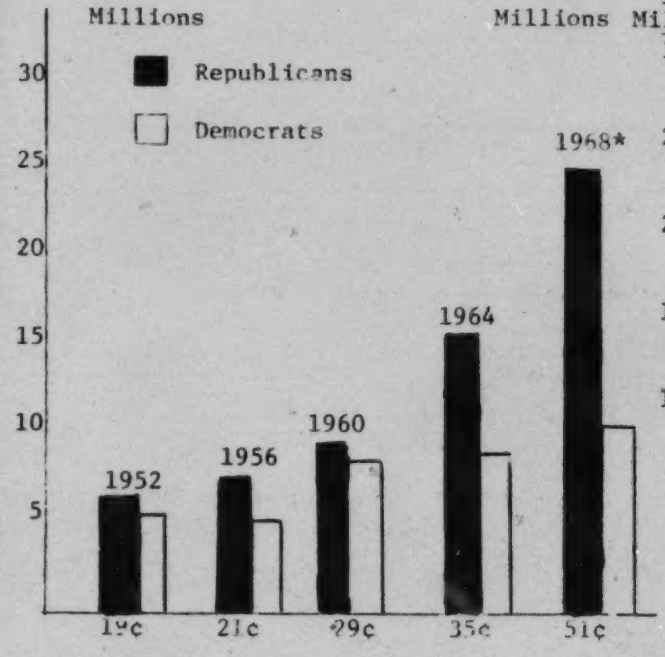
5. Have meetings to check on the progress of the campaign and to exchange ideas.

6. Invite them to your victory party.

SOURCE: VITAL ISSUES
Volume XXI, No. 2

Presidential Campaign Spending
Has Risen Sharply Since 1952

TABLE 1



Spending Per Vote Cast

*George Wallace's Campaign Spent an additional $9 Million or 9¢ per vote

Rising Spending for Nominations and Elections
By Candidates and Parties in the United States

TABLE 2

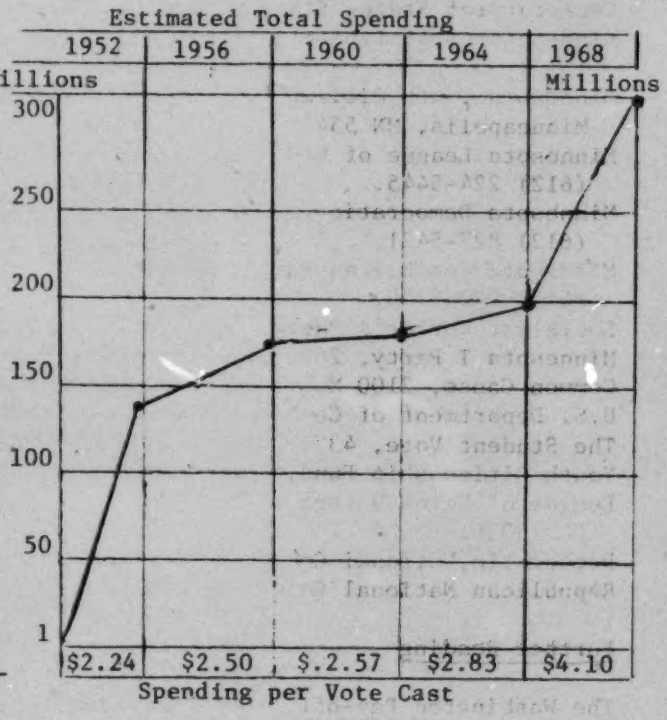


TABLE 1

Presidential Campaign Spending Has Risen Sharply Since 1952

	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	SPENDING PER VOTE CAST
1952	$6.6 Million	$5.0 Million	19¢
1956	$7.8 Million	$5.1 Million	21¢
1960	$10.1 Million	$9.8 Million	29¢
1964	$16.0 Million	$8.8 Million	35¢
1968*	$25.4 Million	$11.6 Million	51¢

*George Wallace's campaign spent an additional $9 million or 9 cents per vote

TABLE 2

Rising Spending For Nominations and Elections By Candidates And Parties in the United States

	ESTIMATED TOTAL SPENDING	SPENDING PER VOTE CAST
1952	$140 Million	$2.24
1956	$155 Million	$2.50
1960	$170 Million	$2.57
1964	$200 Million	$2.83
1968	$300 Million	$4.10

OTHER SOURCES

For further information, contact:

Your municipal clerk, City Hall.
Secretary of State, State Office Building, St. Paul, MN 55101, (612) 221-2805.
Minnesota Civil Liberties Union, 2323 East Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55413, (612) 331-2773.
Minnesota Youth Citizenship Fund, Inc., P.O. Box 15058 Commerce Station, Minneapolis, MN 55415, (612) 331-7222.
Minnesota League of Women Voters, 555 Wabasha Street, St. Paul, MN 55102, (612) 224-5445.
Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, 730 E. 38th St., Minneapolis, MN 55407 (612) 827-5421.
Minnesota Republican Party, 4940 Viking Drive, Minneapolis, MN 55435, (612) 920-5750.
Socialist Worker's Party, 1 University Ave., N.E., Minneapolis, MN 55413.
Minnesota T Party, 2601 Fremont Ave. N., Minneapolis, MN 55411.
Common Cause, 2100 M Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20037.
U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC 20233.
The Student Vote, 43 Ivy Street, S.E., Washington, DC 20003.
Youth Citizenship Fund, Inc., 2317 M Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20037.
League of Women Voters of the United States, 1730 M. Street N.W., Washington DC 20036.
Democratic National Committee, 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20037.
Republican National Committee, 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, DC 20003.

Further Reading

The Washington Pay-off, Robert N. Winter-berger, Dell Publishing, New York, 1972, pp. 317-319. This section concerns political reform.

How To Wage a Successful Campaign for the Presidency, Pat Paulson Nash Publishing Company, Los Angeles, California, 1972. Read the sections entitled "Answers for All Occasions" and "Packaging Your Image."

The New How To Win an Election, Stephen C. Shadegg, Taplinger Publishing Company, New York, 1972, pp. 20-24, 181-184. "The Uncommitted Voter" and "Election Timetables" are discussed in these portions.

"Points of Accord, Discord in Rival Platforms," Minneapolis Star, August 23, 1972. This news story makes a step-by-step comparison of Republican and Democratic platforms in the 1972 election.

Getting with Politics, Roy Hoopes, Dell Publishing Company, 1968, pp. 88-109. This section, "Picking Your Party," discusses Democratic and Republican philosophies.

GOVERNMENTS, BUREAUCRACY,

AND PEOPLE

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GOVERNMENTS, BUREAUCRACY AND PEOPLE

INTRODUCTION AND DIRECTIONS

Directions: Read the Introduction, the instructions for the Suggested Daily Journal, the Questions and Projects and the article "A Sense of Smell." Then design a research or involvement project dealing with a government agency. Keep a journal of your experiences and feelings. Refer to the other materials in the section as needed.

Introduction: Each of us lives under the authority of and shares the cost of several units of local government which are overlapped by a variety of regional governments and a school district. We also live under the authority of a taxing power of one state government and one federal government.

Governments set up agencies and departments to carry out their various duties and services. The charts and other materials in this section are examples of how some of these agencies and departments are organized. If you are going to try to solve a problem in your community, it is sometimes important to understand these "power maps" of government agencies. Other large organizations in our society also tend to be structured in this manner.

People that run these agencies and departments are called bureaucrats and the organizations are called the "the bureaucracy."

The charts and graphs in this section are rather meaningless until you start adding people and services to them. Then you begin to get an idea of the vastness and complexity of the government in our society. There are 50 state governments and 80,000 units of local governments (counties and smaller). These 80,000 units are governed by over 500,000 elected officials, spend $450 billion per year and hire 30,000 separate law enforcement agencies to carry out the laws they pass.

Governments tax us and spend the money to provide all kinds of services. To do this governments employ over 18 million people. It is estimated that, including the military, one in every six American workers work for the government at some level.

A government work force this large also means that there are a wide variety of career opportunities available. On the federal level alone there are over 500 professional job classifications and hundreds of non-professional ones. Since only ten percent of the two and one half million federal employees work in Washington, D.C., there are also hundreds of civilian work locations in the U.S.

NOTE: A further reading for this section is "The OBM: The Other President," found in the Minneapolis Tribune for March 10, 1974.

Goals and Objectives

Some of the goals and objectives for this section are listed below. They are not listed in order of importance. You can rank them in the order you think they should be in when you have finished your project.

The student should understand:

Why the pace of change is often slow.

Why the decisions made are not always satisfactory to those that asked for the change.

The steps necessary to bring about, stop, slow down or speed up any change in your community.

How and why organizations operate the way they do.

Why various kinds of people get involved in the decision making process.

Why "people" can make a difference in governmental decisions.

That trying to influence your society can be both very rewarding and very frustrating.

That there are more than two sides to any question.

That there are many ways to avoid making a decision.

That there are many ways to shift the responsibility for decisions made.

That there are all kinds of career possibilities available in government.

Personal Research Sheet

I live in the city of _____. The city council is composed of _____ members in all, _____ of whom are elected by wards or districts, and _____ by the city at large. Terms of office are for ____ years. Primary elections for council members take place _____ _____, followed by city elections on _____. My council member is _____. The mayor is _____. The city manager is _____. The police chief is _____ _____. My representative on the county governing body is _____. He/she is ___appointed ___elected every _____ years. There are _____ members in this group. They meet every _____. Their meetings are ___open ___closed to the public. My representative on the Metro Council is _____. There are _____ in this governing group. Members to this group are _____elected _____appointed every ____ years. They meet every _____. Their meetings are _____open _____closed to the public. The chairman of this council is _____. He/she is ____ elected _____ appointed every _____ years.

My incumbent representatives in St. Paul and Washington, D.C. are:

	Name	Address	Political Party	Committees Appointed To
State Rep.				
State Senator				
U.S. Rep.				
U.S. Senators				

Excerpts From:

A SENSE OF SMELL:

- HOERNER WALDORF
- bartusch
- **SPEAS**

- BY THE STUDENTS OF THE ST. PAUL OPEN SCHOOL

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FOREWORD

"The chance of me living a full life is being threatened. It's being threatened by things my parents and grandparents never thought could happen. But, our experience shows that we still can make some changes."

The St. Paul Open School started in the fall of 1971. Part of the St. Paul Public School System, the school has an enrollment of 500 students: K-12, and 800 people on the waiting list. The main advantages of the school are: the free and open curriculum, no grading pressures, and an informal social environment. The school is housed in an old factory building, situated in a "heavy industrial" area. Our location, on University Avenue, is most often refered to as the "armpit of St. Paul".

As I made out my first schedule, I spied the class Ecology, taught by Joe Nathan. I thought that being the ecologically minded person I am, I should check it out. A group of 20 or so people showed up the first day. We split into groups, each to work on their own projects. My group was made up of Don Brown, then an '8th grader', Larry Buck, a '10th grader', Katy Kelly, a 'senior', myself - Ross Huelster, a '9th grader', and Joe. Other groups started up projects such as neighborhood cleanups, school litter patrol, and a recycling center in back of the school. Our group didn't want to do a didly little project; we wanted to do something different. What to do? Katy brought up how she had ridden her bicycle through the area during August and had noticed the "stinky stench" that permeated the area. First, you must understand what kind of area we're in. Most of the area is zoned "heavy industrial". Right across the street, a few blocks are zoned residential. Here there are about three nursing homes and a mess of run-down houses. This area and our school are surrounded by : railroad tracks, drive in's, block long car dealers, insurance buildings, resturants, packing plants, Interstate 94, and a variety of other factories and buildings.

Anyway, we traced the "obnoxious odors" to three companies:
Speas Vineger Plant - directly behing the school;
Bartusch Meat Packing Plant - 2/5's of a mile away;
Hoerner Waldorf Paper Company -1/2 mile from school.
We all agreed that Waldorf smelled the worst. A sort of burnt sausage pancake breakfast smell. Also, their stacks let out great billows of steam, especially during the cold winter months. We decided to 'attack' these three companies on behalf of the school and neighborhood residents for the benefit of the area.

After agreeing on our project, we decided to ask for tours of the companies we were trying to clean up. Larry called Hoerner Waldorf and talked with a public relations secretary. Larry told her who we were, where we were from, but not what we planned to do. She must have been scared by the word 'ecology'. She explained the merits of their company and said the company was preparing a slide film about their paper recycling. She asked us to call back in thirty days. We figured that they would show us only what they wanted us to see: their good points, like paper recycling, but not their bad ones, like the stench from their pulp-making process.
In thirty days, Larry called back.
"Still not ready, sir." was the response.
We weren't even sure that an actual slide show was being put together. Another month of waiting. Another negative answer. But at least we didn't give up. Waldorf couldn't turn us off with a "sorry sir" secretary. .
By the end of sixty days and still no slide show, we knew that our hopes of getting a tour were futile. By this time we had a lawyer, John Herman, who was a staff member of the Minnesota Public Interest Research Group (MPIRG).

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FIRST STEPS

MPIRG is an organization that gives free legal advice to groups such as ours. The group was formed by college students after Ralph Nader spoke on the University campus. Students from eighteen colleges came together to raise support for the idea. Funding for MPIRG comes from student fees at each of the colleges. A student controlled board of directors decides the general areas of work for MPIRG: such as anti-pollution, voter rights, and consumer protection.

We met with MPIRG's director, who told us about the projects they had been involved with, past and present. He suggested that we begin by studying the anti-smell pollution laws of Minnesota and the other 49 states. When we had ideas about what the law was and the ways they could be improved, we should come back.

We went to the Environmental Library that is located in the basement of the Southeast Minneapolis Public Library, 1222 4th St. SE. When we explained our project, they agreed to open up just for us one afternoon. At the time their part of the library was open only in the evening.

Laws were listed in thick books called "Environmental Law Reporters." We found that the Minnesota law set different standards for smell pollution, depending on the area: residential, semi-residental, or business. In business areas, such as ours, you took one part polluted air and four parts unpolluted air. You put the air in a container, and, if it smelled, the odor was illegal. In residential areas, you add only one part unpolluted air to the polluted air. Obviously, greater smells were legal in business areas. The only stronger law on smell pollution was Connecticut's: If you can smell something, it's illegal!

We took our findings back to MPIRG and they were impressed with what we had found. They suggested that we ask for an inspection of the plants by the city Pollution Control Agency. They helped us write official complaints which you can see in the back of this booklet. We've also enclosed copies of the Minnesota laws on smell pollution. APC 8 and 9.

we testify

We didn't seem to be getting anywhere! No response from Hoerner Waldorf, no response from the city Pollution Control Agency. Our lawyer at MPIRG suggested that we testify at the upcoming PCA hearings. Federal law requires each state's PCA to hold hearings on that state's program for implementation of the Federal plans along with any amendments the state may have added to the Federal Standards.

We decided to attend the hearings and urge stronger anti-odor laws. We realized that the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency did not have jurisdiction, but hoped we could get some help anyway. We based our testimony on two points:

1. As Minnesota's law stands, anti-ordor standards for buildings in industrial areas are more leniant than those for buildings in other areas. If the odors were confined to industrial zones, a case could be made for this provision. However, people in surrounding residential areas, nursing homes, parks and the St. Paul Open School has to breathe the foul-smelling air from plants located in industrial zones.

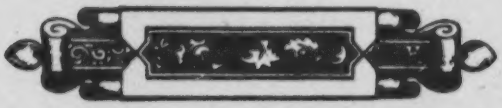
2. Although Minnesota's anti-odor pollution law has just been strengthened, we felt that there was room for improvement. We urged the adoption of a law similar to Connecticut's, forbidding anyone from polluting beyond his/her own property line.

We also informed the Pollution Control Agency of our plan to take a petition around in the Open School and in neighboring residential and business areas protesting the odors from several near-by businesses.

In retrospect, this sounds simple. At the time, however, the whole ideas of testifying was pretty frightening. We weren't experts -just kids (though our lawyer, John, said later we probably knew more about anti-odor laws that most of the PCA members). And what about questions .... what if we couldn't answer them? John said to answer honestly and offer to do research if more needed to be done.

It really went OK. Some students from another school who were watching came up to talk with us, and so did a reporter for the St. Paul newspapers, Bob Goligowski. He was impressed with what we said and promised to write a story. Testifying didn't produce direct city PCA action, but at least some things were happening. We were still hopeful.

COLLECTING SIGNATURES



Several months had gone by since we'd first asked the city Pollution Control Agency to check the emissions of the three companies. We'd testified at a state hearing, but gotten the following response from the local PCA: "sorry, but we just don't have the time and manpower to investigate all the complaints." The lawyer at MPIRG, who we were working with, suggested petitioning the neighborhood. He also helped us write it. The petition was short, legal, and right to the point. We hoped everyone in the neighborhood would sign it. The day before we were going out, an article appeared in the newspaper about our efforts. We thought that would help!

Four of us went out in the community. Katy took the north side of University Avenue and I took the south. Ross and Don took a residential area with a nursing home in it. I really thought it would be easy: just tell them who I was, what the petition was for, and they'd sign it. Well, everything but signing it worked out for me. People said things like:

> "We read the article in the newspaper and thought it was great, but we sell coffee to Hoerner Waldorf and it would be bad business to sign a complaint agoinst them."
>
> -coffee wholesaler

> "I've worked here for fifteen years and never smelled anything. Maybe I'm used to it."
>
> -saw wholesaler

> "Get out!"
>
> -a bar

> "Oh it really stinks around here! I smell it almost every day. Sure I'll sign."
>
> -a secretary

> "I can't sign anything because this is a political office and it's against the law."
>
> -teamster office

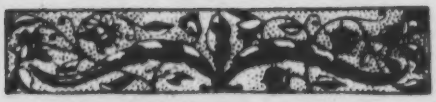
> "That's great! But I can't sign it because I work for them and it would be bad practice. Do you know about the Tom Sawyer Meat Packing Plant? It's right by Hoerner Waldorf and it really stinks too."
>
> -employee of Pollution Curbs, Inc.

> "I would sign it, but I'd rather get my boss to sign it so I won't get hassled."
>
> - secretary

The major thing I discovered was that at least 40% of the companies along the south side of University Avenue do business with Hoerner Waldorf and that the business people felt they couldn't sign the petition even though they thought it stunk.
What do you say when someone says "I'd like to sign it but I better

not because we'll lose business"? I could see their point, but it made me feel helpless. I stood there knowing they were for us, but couldn't help.....it was a weird feeling.

Actually, with the help of several people in the neighborhood, we were able to collect almost 200 neighborhood signatures. Of course, we also had people in the school sign so we ended up with around 500 names.



We had two different petitions. One was for "students, staff and volunteers of the Saint Paul Open School." The other was for "residents of the Midway area in St. Paul." The petition read as follows:

We are (students, staff members and volunteers of the Saint Paul Open School or residents of the Midway area in St. Paul) who find the odor discharged from Speas Vinegar Factory at 582 Prior Ave. N., Bartusch Meat Packing Plant at 567 Cleveland Ave. and Hoerner Waldorf at 2250 Wabash Ave. objectionable to us and the nursing homes, schools, parks and residents in this area.

We believe they are in violation of APC 9 as stated in the Minnesota Pollution Control Regulations and urge the St. Paul Pollution Control Agency to investigate our complaint.

If MPCA doesn't have the manpower or money to carry out this testing, we believe that the specified companies should be allowed to carry out their own testing program as stated in the APC 3.

We ask the St. Paul Pollution Control Agency and the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency to respond to our complaints, telling us:

1. When they plan to make an investigation in result of our complaints.
2. To notify us of the results of such an investigation.

THE SAINT PAUL PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Independent School District No. 625
Saint Paul, Minnesota

ST. PAUL OPEN SCHOOL
1885 University Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota 55104

Phone: 612-647-0186

December 10, 1971

St. Paul Utilities Department
Air Pollution Division
100 E. 10th Street
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

Dear Mr. Roberts:

I would like to register a complaint against Hoerner-Waldorf, located at 2250 Wabash. It is my belief that this plant is violating APC-9 in its omission of objectionable odors.

There are nursing homes, residential neighborhoods, parks and schools near this plant and the odor is a source of discomfort to anyone who hasn't spend a substantial portion of his day near Hoerner-Waldorf.

The air sample should be taken at night as that is when the smell is worst.

Please keep me informed as to what you are doing and the results of the test. I can be notified through the St. Paul Open School.

Sincerely,

Katy Kelley

KK:jk

cc: Ed Wick

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thinking it through

It's really hard to write my feelings over what we did. I can remember meeting in the Open School's basement. We talked about what we wanted to do. I must admit that I was a bit skeptical at first. "Hey man, let's shut-down Hoerner Waldorf!" Ya right-sure. Us against big business U.S.A. You bet. But I figured that I would only defeat myself and the project by being a pessimist.

Rule 1: Attack your project with a positive attitude. You can do almost anything with the right state of mind. At times I thought our efforts were futile. We weren't getting anywhere. We couldn't even deal with a P.R. secretary.

Rule 2: Don't expect immediate enforcement of laws. Often agencies who have the responsibility to enforce laws don't have the number of staff members to check all possible violations. Sometimes agencies may not want to enforce laws because deals have been made. Even when companies are found to be in violation of the laws, the companies may need time to come into compliance. New equipment can't be installed in a day (and studies may have to be made to determine what type of equipment is needed).

Rule 3: Get organized first. It's best to have a plan of attack before you invade. The pollution control agency turned down our first complaint becase, among other things, "it wasn't in the right form." You should obtain legal help from your local "store-front lawyers." Research pollution laws in your and other states. Get local support and set up a meeting with your newspaper's environmental reporter.

Rule 4: Keep plugging at it. Don't let yourself be scared or bored off. Sure you need experience. Hopefully this booklet will tell you what it's like and give you some ideas. Remember, we're no different than you; if we can do it, you can too!

When we were going after Hoerner Waldorf, Speas and Bartusch I thought it would be fun to nail a big company. I still do! But it's really not that hard. It took a couple of months to get moving, but that was mainly because we didn't know the process. Some of it was waiting for replies to letters. Just inexperience can slow you down.

We really only put in a hard week"s work. Filing the complaint, researching, testifying at the state PCA hearings, talking with John Herman of MPIRG, reading about other attempts to reduce pollution, writing letters, getting signatures on petitions and taking the tour of Hoerner Waldorf didn't take much time. If we had known what to do in the beginning, inspections probably would have been made in less than a month.

Somehow I never took it seriously. Maybe I should have. But we were able to do things not too many students get to try. More should try it!

postscript

Hoerner Waldorf was supposed to have the anti-smell equipment in by Labor Day, 1972, (with an extension or two). It was not. They asked for a thirty day extension and, of course, got it. The other two companies had their equipment installed by the established deadline.

By early October, Hoerner Waldorf had the equipment in place. Most of us could hardly believe it after all the extensions they had been given.

We asked if it would be possible to see the equipment that "was supposed to stop the smell". This time we called, they said they would be "more than delighted" to show it to us. I think we were getting pretty well known at Hoerner Waldorf.

When we arrived, an engineer gave us a blackboard demonstration on how the equipment "should work". Then they showed the equipment to us. After giving us an overall tour of the place, our guide gave each of us a tie clasp. You guessed it, it had the Hoerner Waldorf emblem on it!

However, we decided unanimously that the equipment was not doing its job. The Hoerner Waldorf people said they needed a little time to get the bugs worked out. We thought it only fair to give them a few months to get it working.

Time passed and it still smelled. We called the P.C.A. and said it still smelled. After beating around the bush for a bit, the P.C.A. said Hoerner Waldorf had been given a year's extension. The reason for the extension was that the new equipment that the consulting firm's engineers said would work, did not. Our lawyer thought the extension was fair.

"A year!" What the ____ is going on? There is not a whole lot we can do now, but wait. But it goes to show that highly trained engineers can make mistakes. Unfortunately at our nose's expenses.

We still continue to watch and smell, hoping one day we will wake up and it will all be gone. We were able to get at least some of the smell eliminated.

In addition to the smell, our work had other effects. Several months after the newspaper article, a woman walked into the school. She talked with one of the community resource specialists at the school and asked " Will those kids help me solve our neighborhood's air pollution problem? We have a plant which puts fumes and dust into the air. I've tried for five years to get action -- but no one will listen. But it looks like people listen to those kids!"

We met her (she worked in a restaurant 1/2 block from our school), and introduced her to our lawyer, John Herman. John did some checking, we all filed complaints and this time the agency investigated right away. Agreements were reached with the offending company and the lady and her neighbors are much happier!

Questions and Projects for Governments, Bureaucracy and People

Directions: Do the ones that are related to your project or use these as a basis for designing your own project.

____ 1. Define a problem in your city, region or state and research the problem. What are some solutions? What are some solutions for and against each solution? Design a procedure for trying to get the solution implemented. How long do you think it will take to bring about the change? How many people will you need to help you? How much of your own time and energy will it take to bring about the change?

____ 2. Try and bring about the change. Keep a diary of events and feelings. Compare the diary with what you thought would happen.

____ 3. Join a local group that is trying to start, stop, slow-down or speed-up a change that is taking place in your community, state or country. Keep a diary of events, feelings, news coverage, results, etc. Analyze the process. What methods worked? What methods didn't work? What kinds of people were involved? Why did they get involved in solving this problem? Who made the key decisions?

____ 4. Visit the public meetings of a board or council and answer the following questions:

A. Were the members elected or appointed?
B. How many citizens regularly attend the meetings?
C. How many citizens voted to elect the officials?
D. What are the ages, education, careers, sex, etc., of the members?
E. What influence do the other levels of government have in the decision made by this board or council?
F. Who has the responsibility for carrying out the decisions made? How much interpretation is left to them?
G. What kinds of groups lobby the board or council. What kinds of pressure, if any, seems to be most effective?
H. Were most decisions made out in the open? If not, where do you think they were made? Why?
I. Which political party seems to have the most influence? Are votes along party lines? Do political parties donate money or other kinds of help to candidates at election time? Are appointments made on the basis of party affiliation?
J. Other--

____ 5. Develop an annotated bibliography of the resources available in the community and school dealing with a problem you are interested in.

____ 6. Become a council or board watcher for a group or organization or candidate. Attend their meetings and report on them to the group.

____ 7. Work for a council member, an advisory commission, a candidate running for office, etc. Keep a diary of events and feelings.

___ 8. Go on a police ride-along program. Develop a set of questions to ask them based on the materials in the Student Guide for Career Analysis packet. Write a report on your experiences.

___ 9. How many different job families are there in local government? In state government? In the federal government? If you tried to answer this question, where would be a good place to start looking?

___10. Are the requirements for a job in local government different than for the same job in private industry? Are they different at the state or federal level than the requirements for the same job in private industry?

___11. How do you find out about job requirements, where to apply and other questions concerning government jobs?

___12. Interview people who have worked on advisory commissions or have tried to bring about change in your community. Some sample questions can be found in the Student Guide for Career Analysis packet. What are some of the rewards and frustrations in trying to bring about community change? Why did they try to influence their community directly?

___13. React to the statement, "Local governments tend to provide the services that affect your every day life most directly, yet they attract the least attention." Do a media analysis on various levels of government.

___14. If you have worked with a bureaucracy evaluate Parkinson's Law: "Government will automatically seek to expand its size and jurisdiction: it will find ways to occupy its time and to create work to fill any gaps in that time."

___15. Make a listing of the taxes you and your family pay. What percent goes to each level of government? Who has the most say in determining how much is collected and where it is spent? What tax reforms would you suggest? Politically, how would you go about reforming taxes?

___16. Do a study on a level of government. Make a hypothesis about peoples' attitudes towards that level of government. Test that hypothesis in your community.

___17. If you have worked with a government bureaucracy react to the following statement: "Much of the force for the moves of a government may come from inside the bureaucracy rather than outside forces such as 'the **people**,' 'the power **elite**,' or pressure and interest groups."

___18. Do a social-psychological research project on the subject of **"bureaucrats."** What motivates them to become bureaucrats? How do they tend to make decisions? etc. Then, interview a bureaucrat. Does he or she fit into the **"stereotype"**?

___19. Develop an organizational chart for the company you work for, the city you live in, the church you go to, etc. Chart the course of a decision through the bureaucracy.

___20. Answer the following questions about a bureaucratic decision that you have either studied about or have tried to directly influence:

A. Who was the key decision-maker?
B. What other groups or individuals participated in the decision?
C. How many different options were open to the decision-maker?
D. What were the key factors in influencing the decision?
E. How important was compromise in this decision?
F. Was this a policy decision or an interpretation of a policy?
G. What effect did established rules and procedures have on the outcome?
H. What decision would you have made? Why? What would have been the results of your decision?
I. How long did it take to get the final decision?

___21. Where does the Metro Council fit on the organizational chart of all governments, Item A?

___22. Use the Work Organization Analysis system, Item K, to analyze a decision you researched or tried to influence.

___23. Analyze an **institution** you "live" with using the check sheet with Item L, The Institutional Trap.

___24. Go to the local office of the telephone company. Look up the telephone listings for a major metropolitan or county government in the U.S. What kinds of internal and external problems are solved and created by bureaucracy? By modern means of communication? By computers? What steps could be taken to make bureaucracies more personal in their dealings with people?

___25. Read a novel on the frustrations of working with a bureaucracy. See your instructor for some suggestions.

___26. Regulatory Agencies

In With Justice for Some, Ralph Nader aide Ralph Fellmeth writes of the worthiness of the regulatory agencies: "What is...happening in America is the collusion of the two great forces in our society: government and industry. Separate, they are subject to some public influence over both. The combination eliminates the primary differences between our system and that of the Soviets." His recommendations include:

1. Appointment to agencies should not be cleared with industry.
2. No commissioner should be allowed to work for an industry regulated by his agency for five years after leaving the agency.
3. All agency cases should involve consumer representation.
4. Tax laws should not include lobbying costs as a business cost.
5. Congressional committees should be given adequate staff to investigate the operations of the commissions.

What evidence can you find to prove or disprove Mr. Fellmeth's statements?

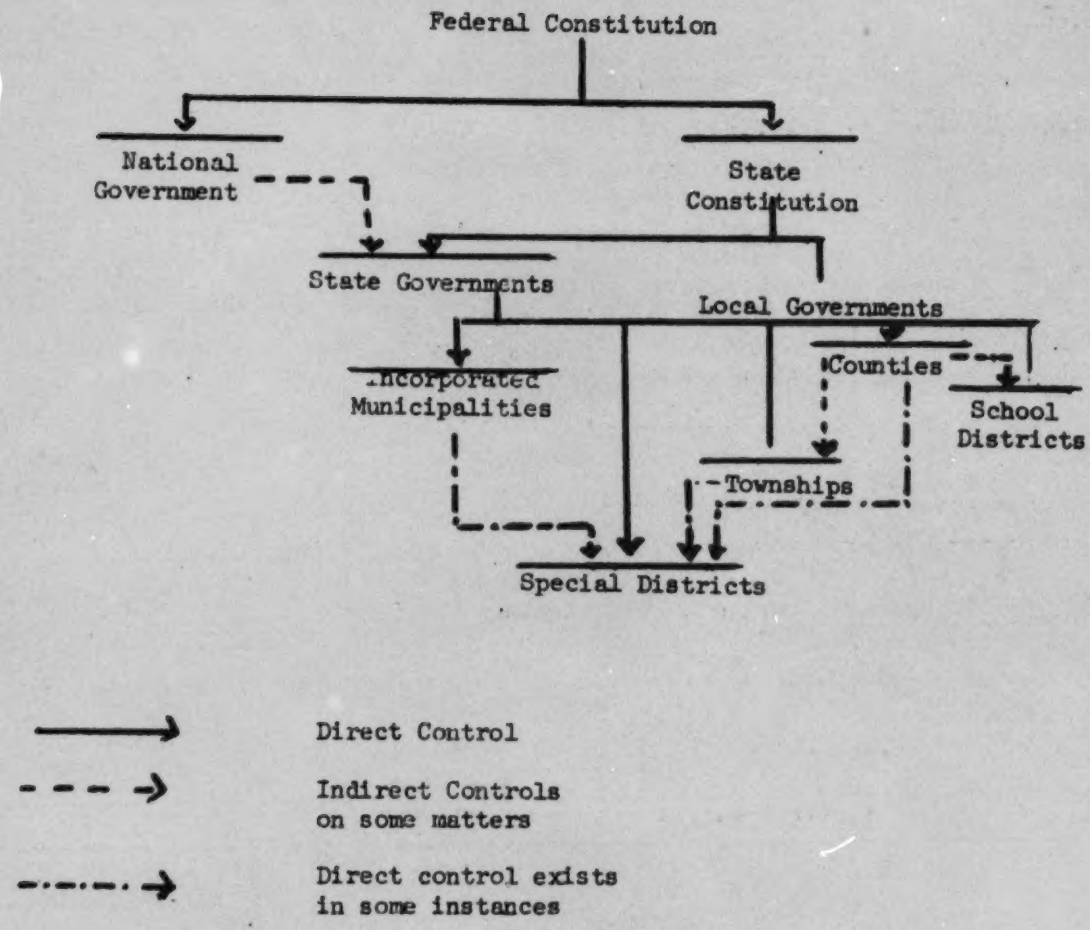
What do you think the adoption of any or all of these recommendations would do for regulatory agency responsiveness?

What other reforms would you suggest to improve the operation of government agencies?

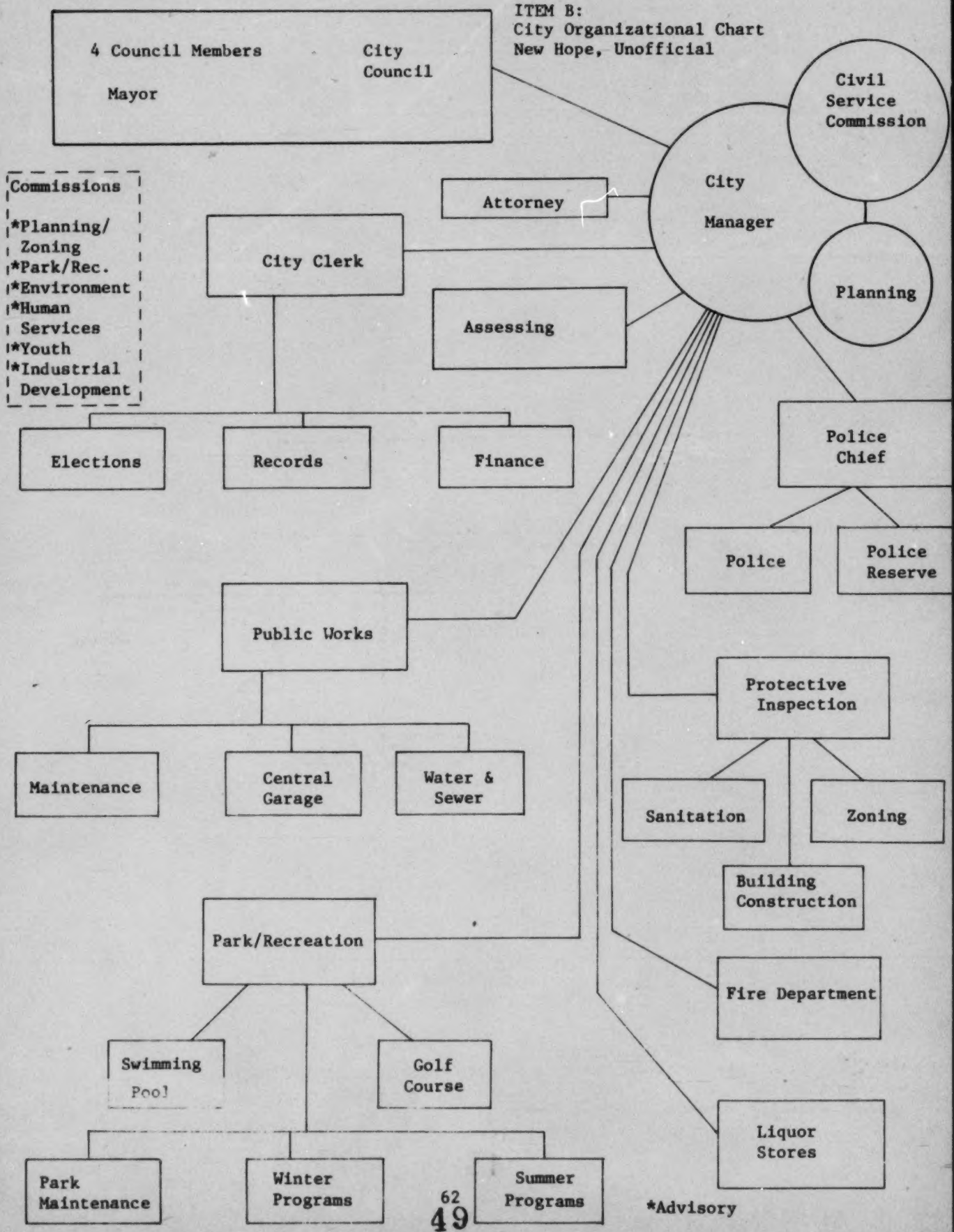
Does the policy of agencies on the federal or state level change when the executive of that level of government changes?

____27. Other

Governments, Bureaucracy, and People Appendix
Item A: Government Organizational Chart



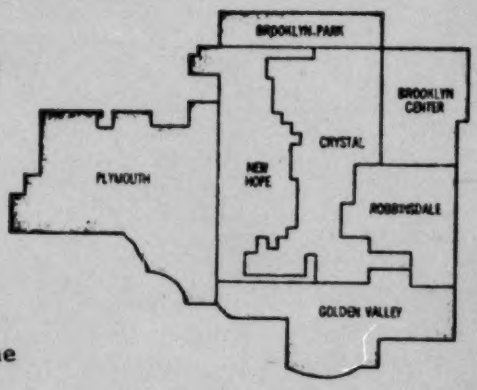
The United States federal system ("Incorporated municipalities" refers to cities, villages, boroughs, and, in some states, towns. "Special districts" includes all special districts except school districts.)


ITEM B:
City Organizational Chart
New Hope, Unofficial
4 Council Members
Mayor
City Council
Civil Service Commission
City Manager
Planning
Commissions
*Planning/ Zoning
*Park/Rec.
*Environment
*Human Services
*Youth
*Industrial Development
Attorney
City Clerk
Assessing
Elections
Records
Finance
Police Chief
Police
Police Reserve
Public Works
Maintenance
Central Garage
Water & Sewer
Protective Inspection
Sanitation
Zoning
Building Construction
Park/Recreation
Fire Department
Swimming Pool
Golf Course
Liquor Stores
Park Maintenance
Winter Programs
Summer Programs
*Advisory

INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT 281

ROBBINSDALE AREA SCHOOLS
LEROY E. HOOD, SUPERINTENDENT

"EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER"



ARMSTRONG High School
10635 36th Avenue North
Plymouth, Minnesota 55441

ITEM C:
Evaluations by Employees of the
City of New Hope

July 25, 1974

Mr. Harlyn Larson
New Hope City Hall
New Hope, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Larson,

The teachers of Social Problems in School District 281 are trying to improve the way we teach local government. To help us do this we are asking each department in the city government for a brief overview of their operation.

The answers to the attached list of questions will help us give the student a better understanding of both the kinds of occupations available and the kinds of services provided by a local government.

We also have a community involvement program at several of the high schools. The last several questions refer to that program.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

James Kyle

James Kyle
Instructor

TO: Department Heads

~~FROM:~~ City Managers

SUBJECT: Attached

The attached letter and form are to assist District #281 in development of an instruction set for local government.

Please take a few minutes to fill out the attached and return to my office by 8:15 A.M. on August 5, 1974.

Harlyn G. Larson
City Manager

July 18, 1974

51

Independent School District 281
Local Government Survey
July, 1974

1. Department City Manager No. of employees Supervision of all employees
2. A brief description of duties and services performed
   1) General coordination of all city activities
   2) See that laws are enforced
   3) Personnel Director
   4) Civil Defense Director
   5) Planning - Land use - Programs 6) Budget Director
3. Job rewards and frustrations
4. General employment requirements Master Degree in Public Administration or related field - 3 to 5 years as manager or assistant in larger city.
5. In your area, what trends do you see for the future?
   Major change is from management of "things" development to programs for people. Citizen involvement - Employee union activities increasing.
6. Could your department use volunteer helpers? X Yes ___ No .
   If yes, describe the activities volunteers might do
   Limited need for field survey work, etc.
7. Would you consider using high school seniors as volunteers?
   X Yes ___ No ___ Only under the following conditions
   Some possible survey - Research

Independent School District 281
Local Government Survey
July, 1974

1. Department Park and Recreation No. of employees 12
2. A brief description of duties and services performed
Providing leisure time services and park facilities for the residents of the community
3. Job rewards and frustrations Satisfaction in seeing people enjoy themselves using park and participating in recreation programs. Frustration in extensive time in preparation and planning cancelled out by inclement weather
4. General employment requirements Director Administration – Masters Degree - Park & Recreation Administration Recreation Supervision - Bachelors Degree - Park & Recreation Administration Recreation Leader - 2 yr. college Degree - Recreation Leadership
5. In your area, what trends do you see for the future?
Additional development for adults use of facilities to be utilized on a self-direction basis
6. Could your department use volunteer helpers? ✓ Yes ___ No
If yes, describe the activities volunteers might do
Assist in recreation programs such as arts & crafts, tiny tots playday, girls clubs, coaching teams, theatre presentations and many more programs.
7. Would you consider using high school seniors as volunteers?
✓ Yes ___ No ___ Only under the following conditions Under supervision or working with a seasoned leader as a program aide.

Independent School District 281
Local Government Survey
July, 1974

1. Department Police No. of employees 35
2. A brief description of duties and services performed
Public Safety responsibilities.
Protect life & property. Prevent crime
apprehend violators. Traffic law enforcement
3. Job rewards and frustrations Helping people.
Hours irregular
4. General employment requirements Excellent health & physical condition, clean record, approximately 2 years of college, ability to act in stress situations, ability to regulate emotional situations react quickly and effectively in dangerous situations
5. In your area, what trends do you see for the future?
Closer involvement with people.
Greater community concern with law enforcement problems. More self help by citizens such as home security.
6. Could your department use volunteer helpers? ___Yes ___No
If yes, describe the activities volunteers might do
In some specific programs such as bike safety.
7. Would you consider using high school seniors as volunteers?
___ Yes ___No ___ Only under the following conditions
See # 6

Independent School District 281
Local Government Survey
July, 1974

Finance Director

1. Department Accounting No. of employees 4

2. A brief description of duties and services performed The Accounting Department is responsible for maintaining the financial records of the city and assuring the reliability and integrity of those records. It is also the charge of the Accounting Department to furnish financial reports and maintain a system of checks and balance to have a adequate internal control system.

3. Job rewards and frustrations Job rewards - Preparing reports that can help management measure goals and help in the decision making process.

Frustrations - Not having the time or equipment to have sophisticated Records or costs in some areas.

4. General employment requirements H.S. Bookeeping

5. In your area, what trends do you see for the future? Accounting systems that will measure job and program performance.

6. Could your department use volunteer helpers? x Yes ___ No
If yes, describe the activities volunteers might do
Filing invoices, checks, purchase orders, etc.

7. Would you consider using high school seniors as volunteers?
x Yes ___ No ___ Only under the following conditions

Independent School District 281
Local Government Survey
July, 1974

1. Department City Clerk Treasurer No. of employees 5
2. A brief description of duties and services performed
switchboard - receptionist - cashiering - writing receipts sell dog licensers - bicycle licensers, register voters, record Council minutes - process business licensers - compute and certify special assessment - provide clerical services to various committees - ascertain ownership of properties - conduct elections
3. Job rewards and frustrations
Dealing with irate citizen - frustration
Providing needed services - reward
4. General employment requirements high school or equivalent - Typing - ten key adding machine - figure aptitude - ability to deal with people
5. In your area, what trends do you see for the future?
more automation in voters registration and election functions
Clerical pool operation
6. Could your department use volunteer helpers? ✓ Yes ___ No
If yes, describe the activities volunteers might do
assist with voters registration before state or national elections
~~sort~~ issue bicycle licensers during summer months
7. Would you consider using high school seniors as volunteers?
✓ Yes ___ No ___ Only under the following conditions
yes - on bicycle licensing if available during summer
yes - on voters registration if available during regular office hours on intermittent basis

Independent School District 281
Local Government Survey
July, 1974

1. Department Municipal Liquor Stores. No. of employees 17 (On & OFF Sale, Full + Part time)
2. A brief description of duties and services performed operation of both on-sale and off-sale dispensaries. Buying merchandising and marketing of distilled spirits, liquors, Wines, Beer, Cordials, mixes and related accessory items - glassware and grocery products etc.
3. Job rewards and frustrations Rewarding aspects - Rendering good service at competitive prices to satisfied customers.
Frustrations - Repetitive sameness of day to day mechanical job functions
4. General employment requirements Minimum 18 years of age - H.S. Grad - previous experience - knowledge of brands or types of merchandise - clerical aptitude - good public relations. progressive positive thinking attitude
5. In your area, what trends do you see for the future? Greater competition for the consumers spendable income. Changes in brands selections due to variable incomes, life styles, age brackets, media advertising, introduction of new commodities.
6. Could your department use volunteer helpers? X Yes ___ No
If yes, describe the activities volunteers might do Only in such categories such as maintenance or stock work. Age factor would constitute a prohibition of student employment in any sales or consumer contact capacity.
7. Would you consider using high school seniors as volunteers?
X Yes ___ No ___ Only under the following conditions Minimum age requirement would be first and foremost essential consideration.

Independent School District 281
Local Government Survey
July, 1974

1. Department Fire No. of employees 36
2. A brief description of duties and services performed
Provide fire suppression forces to protect the City from fire
3. Job rewards and frustrations The satisfaction of saving lives and property of fire victims
4. General employment requirements 18 to 45 years of age, good physical condition, the urge to serve the city on a volunteer basis
5. In your area, what trends do you see for the future?
The increase of fire losses due to the buildings becoming older, the requirement of sprinkler protection to all commerical and industrial buildings
6. Could your department use volunteer helpers? X Yes ___ No
If yes, describe the activities volunteers might do
Augment the fire fighting crews in all phases of the operation except fire fighting and apparatus operation
7. Would you consider using high school seniors as volunteers?
___ Yes ___ No X Only under the following conditions "B" grade average, interest in the Fire Dept operation and to be available during the day hours or on Saturdays

Independent School District 281
Local Government Survey
July, 1974

1. Department Protective Inspections No. of employees 4
2. A brief description of duties and services performed Life safety, health, fire, building, zoning and sign code enforcement. Plan checks, inspections, issuing permits for all construction
3. Job rewards and frustrations Feeling of making the city safe to live in, satisfaction of helping people help themselves through code enforcement. Frustrations in finding so many citizens unaware of local ordinances and the reasons for them
4. General employment requirements Knowledge of the building trades with some experience or architectual drafting experience good disposition and to be able to work with the public
5. In your area, what trends do you see for the future? More stringent maintenance codes and emphasis on existing structures.
6. Could your department use volunteer helpers? ___Yes _X_ No
   If yes, describe the activities volunteers might do
7. Would you consider using high school seniors as volunteers?
   ___ Yes _X_ No ___ Only under the following conditions

Independent School District 281
Local Government Survey
July, 1974

1. Department Assessing No. of employees 3
2. A brief description of duties and services performed
The Assessing Department prepares the assessment roll as provided by State law through the inspection and appraisal of the property in the city. We also maintain a property record file for information in response to inquiries.

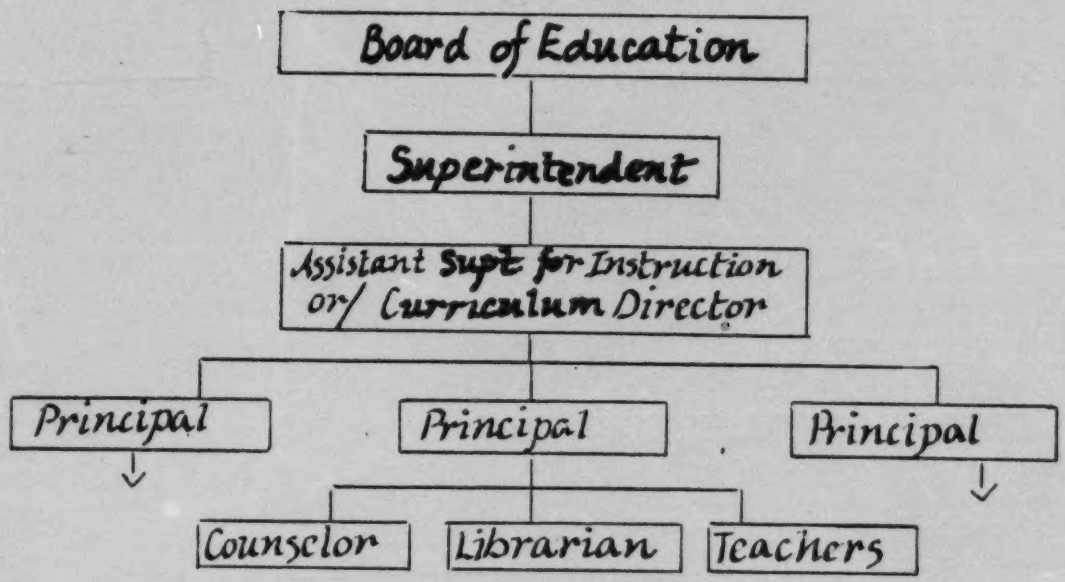
3. Job rewards and frustrations The rewards are the variety and interesting aspects of appraising property and serving the public by clarifying misconceptions of assessing laws and property taxes. The largest frustration is public's mis-understanding of the duties of the assessor, ie. blaming him for high taxes when in fact his function and duties are set and limited by law.
4. General employment requirements Clerk: Typing and filing, knowledge of tax laws and ability to explain them. Appraiser: Ability to appraise all forms of real estate, understand tax laws, and the ability to defend evaluations. Assessor: Ability to appraise all types of property, defend evaluations, manage the department, satisfy citizens complaints.
5. In your area, what trends do you see for the future?
State Certification and Accreditation of all assessors, more statewide equalization, hopefully better tax laws, better understanding by the tax payers, computerization, and more accurate appraisal techniques.

6. Could your department use volunteer helpers? ___Yes X No
If yes, describe the activities volunteers might do

7. Would you consider using high school seniors as volunteers?
___ Yes ___No X Only under the following conditions
If the department was under staffed and there was a need for inspection of many properties withen a short period of time, training temporary inspectors might be possible.

The Power Structure

Although school districts vary considerably in size and are governed under the theory of local control, they are remarkably similar in structure. An organization chart for most school systems looks like this:



The only variation you are likely to find is in positions such as assistant superintendents, coordinators, or consultants. Sometimes these are line jobs (as shown) and sometimes their position in the hierarchy is unclear. The larger the school district, the more likely you are to find these miscellaneous personnel. They go by such names as Assistant Superintendent, Director of Curriculum, Director of Secondary Education, or Coordinator of Curriculum.

TWIN CITIES METROPOLITAN AREA
Political Boundaries, 1973

1 SPRING PARK
2 ORONO
3 MINNETONKA BEACH
4 TONKA BAY
5 EXCELSIOR
6 GREENWOOD
7 WOODLAND
8 MEDICINE LAKE
9 VICTORIA
10 ROBBINSDALE
11 SPRING LAKE PARK
12 U. S. GOVT
13 HILLTOP
14 COLUMBIA HEIGHTS
15 ST. ANTHONY
16 LAUDERDALE
17 FALCON HEIGHTS
18 MENDOTA
19 LILYDALE
20 GREY CLOUD
21 LANDFALL
22 DELLWOOD
23 PINE SPRINGS
24 MAHTOMEDI
25 GEM LAKE
26 BIRCHWOOD
27 WHITE BEAR
28 BAYPORT
29 WILLERNIE
30 OAK PARK HEIGHTS
31 LAKELAND SHORES
32 ST. MARY'S POINT

ANOKA ——— County
GRANT - - - - Township
05560 ——— Municipality

Governments, Bureaucracy and People
Item G: Metro Governments and Questions

1. Map: Protection Open Space Plan--(Generalized Location)

   Question: What type of soil is your suburb built on?
   What kind of problems will this create for future expansion, for re-building, for industrial expansion, etc.?

2. Map: 1973 Legislative Districts

   Question: What legislative district do you live in?
   Who is your Senator and Representative in St. Paul?
   Is there any obvious rationale or pattern for drawing the districts the way they are?

3. Map: Population Distribution of Minorities

   Question: How many people in each minority group live in your community? (See back of map.)

4. Map: Population Distribution of the Aged

   Question: What factors might account for the elderly living where they do?

5. Map: The Distribution of Health Care Facilities

   Question: How are the northern suburbs doing in health care facilities when compared with the inner cities or other clusters of suburbs?

6. Map: Schools and School Districts 1971-72

   Question: How many different local governments are included in school district #281?

7. Map: Twin Cities Metropolitan Area History of Municipal Incorporation

   Question: When was the village or city in which you live incorporated?
   What areas will be colored in by 1990?

8. Map: Metropolitan Area Employment Distribution

   Question: Where are most of the jobs located?
   Where do most of the people live?
   Where have the population movements been in the last 25 years?

9. Political Boundaries, 1973 (Local governments in the Metro Area.)

10. The Solid Waste Disposal System, Dec., 1971

11. Map: Population Distribution

12. Report: Trends in New Housing 1969-71 (Housing Report Number 5)

13. Report: Indications of Housing Quality in the Twin Cities Area (Housing Report Number 2)

14. Metropolitan Council Biennial Report, 1971-72

Governments, Bureaucracy and People
Item H: The Metro Council Organizational Chart
Source: Citizens Guide to the Metropolitan Council,
300 Metro Square Building, St. Paul, Minnesota
December, 1973

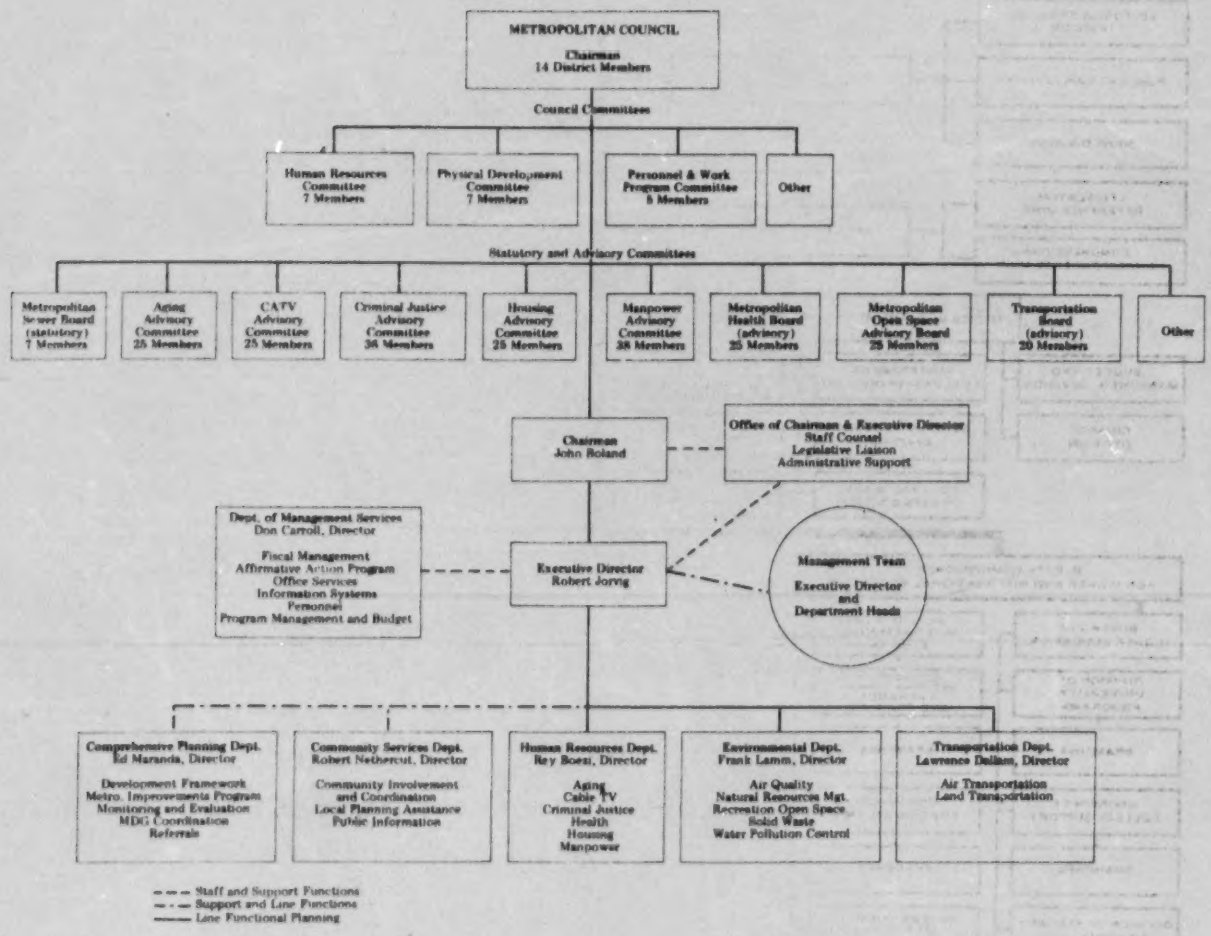
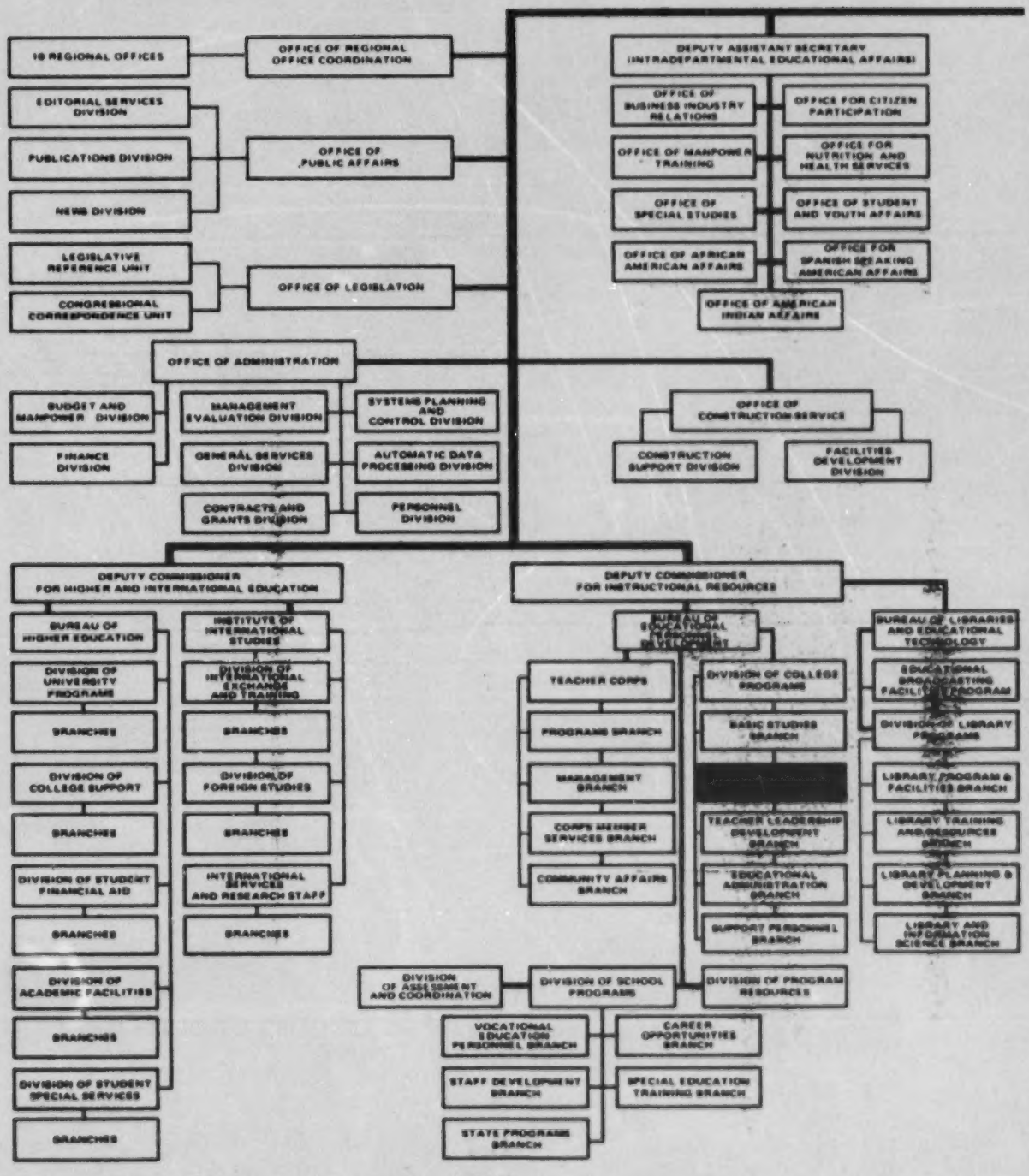
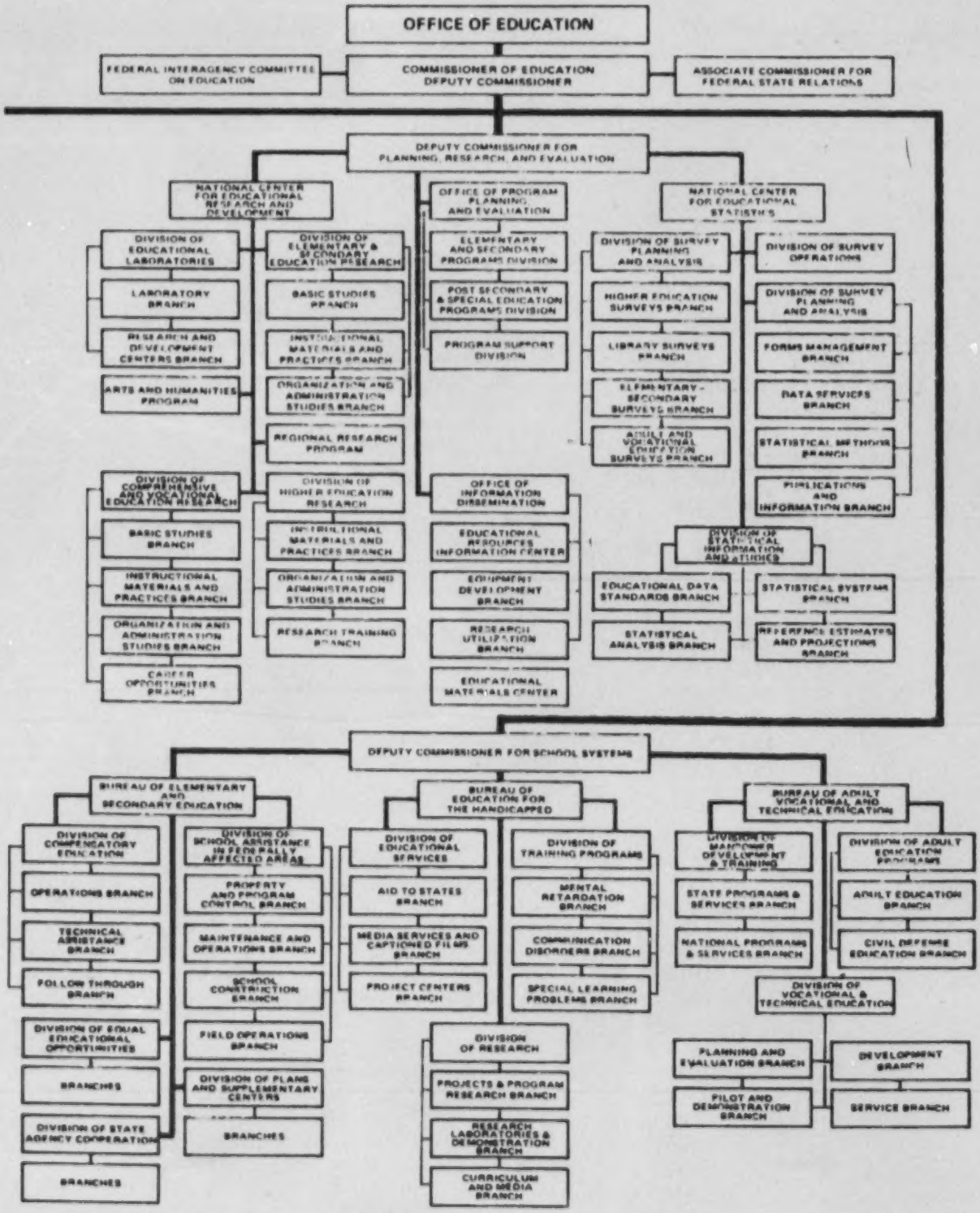


FIGURE 1 COUNCIL ORGANIZATION SHOWING ADVISORY COMMITTEES AND STAFF INTERRELATIONSHIPS

ITEM I: USOE Organizational Chart




OFFICE OF EDUCATION
FEDERAL INTERAGENCY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER
ASSOCIATE COMMISSIONER FOR FEDERAL STATE RELATIONS
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER FOR PLANNING, RESEARCH, AND EVALUATION
NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
DIVISION OF EDUCATIONAL LABORATORIES
LABORATORY BRANCH
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTERS BRANCH
ARTS AND HUMANITIES PROGRAM
DIVISION OF ELEMENTARY & SECONDARY EDUCATION RESEARCH
BASIC STUDIES BRANCH
INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS AND PRACTICES BRANCH
ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION STUDIES BRANCH
REGIONAL RESEARCH PROGRAM
DIVISION OF COMPREHENSIVE AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION RESEARCH
BASIC STUDIES BRANCH
INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS AND PRACTICES BRANCH
ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION STUDIES BRANCH
CAREER OPPORTUNITIES BRANCH
DIVISION OF HIGHER EDUCATION RESEARCH
INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS AND PRACTICES BRANCH
ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION STUDIES BRANCH
RESEARCH TRAINING BRANCH
OFFICE OF PROGRAM PLANNING AND EVALUATION
ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY PROGRAMS DIVISION
POST SECONDARY & SPECIAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS DIVISION
PROGRAM SUPPORT DIVISION
OFFICE OF INFORMATION DISSEMINATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER
EQUIPMENT DEVELOPMENT BRANCH
RESEARCH UTILIZATION BRANCH
EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS CENTER
NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS
DIVISION OF SURVEY PLANNING AND ANALYSIS
HIGHER EDUCATION SURVEYS BRANCH
LIBRARY SURVEYS BRANCH
ELEMENTARY - SECONDARY SURVEYS BRANCH
ADULT AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION SURVEYS BRANCH
DIVISION OF SURVEY OPERATIONS
DIVISION OF SURVEY PLANNING AND ANALYSIS
FORMS MANAGEMENT BRANCH
DATA SERVICES BRANCH
STATISTICAL METHODS BRANCH
PUBLICATIONS AND INFORMATION BRANCH
DIVISION OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION AND ANALYSIS
EDUCATIONAL DATA STANDARDS BRANCH
STATISTICAL ANALYSIS BRANCH
STATISTICAL SYSTEMS BRANCH
REFERENCE ESTIMATES AND PROJECTIONS BRANCH
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER FOR SCHOOL SYSTEMS
BUREAU OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION
DIVISION OF COMPENSATORY EDUCATION
OPERATIONS BRANCH
TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BRANCH
FOLLOW THROUGH BRANCH
DIVISION OF EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES
BRANCHES
DIVISION OF STATE AGENCY COOPERATION
BRANCHES
DIVISION OF SCHOOL ASSISTANCE IN FEDERALLY AFFECTED AREAS
PROPERTY AND PROGRAM CONTROL BRANCH
MAINTENANCE AND OPERATIONS BRANCH
SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION BRANCH
FIELD OPERATIONS BRANCH
DIVISION OF PLANS AND SUPPLEMENTARY CENTERS
BRANCHES
BUREAU OF EDUCATION FOR THE HANDICAPPED
DIVISION OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
AID TO STATES BRANCH
MEDIA SERVICES AND CAPTIONED FILMS BRANCH
PROJECT CENTERS BRANCH
DIVISION OF TRAINING PROGRAMS
MENTAL RETARDATION BRANCH
COMMUNICATION DISORDERS BRANCH
SPECIAL LEARNING PROBLEMS BRANCH
DIVISION OF RESEARCH
PROJECTS & PROGRAM RESEARCH BRANCH
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Source: A Resource Guide for Career Development in the Senior High School, Ariana M. Benson, Minnesota Department of Education, 1973.

Item J

WORK ORGANIZATION ANALYSIS

I. Introduction: Work organization is part of the more general category of organizational psychology, which deals with such problems as communication and styles of leadership. The term "organization" can be defined in many different ways. Generally speaking, an organization may be defined as two or more persons combining their activities to accomplish shared goals. A "work organization" is distinguished by the kinds of goals people are sharing. The goals in a work organization usually include rewards in the form of salary; the goals in an industrial work organization usually include profit-making and marketing. The essential characteristic of a work organization is that it involves people; a cabinetmaker and his assistant, as well as a large industrial factory, can constitute a work organization.

II. Dimensions of Work Organizations: The kinds of dimensions along which a work organization varies determine the workings of that organization. In industrial psychology there are two main categories of organizational dimensions--physical and psychological.

A. Physical Dimensions: The aspects of organization generally included under physical dimensions are size, physical structure, complexity, technology, communications networks, and official decision making procedures (although the last two are sometimes considered part of the psychological dimension).

1. The first category, size, has an effect on almost every other aspect of organizational dimensions. The size of the work organization affects mainly the kind, but not necessarily the degree, of the workers' identification with the organization. The way in which a worker relates to his work product varies according to the size of the work organization, as does the amount of influence the worker can have on his organization.

2. The second category, the physical structure of the work organization, may be subdivided into geographical structure and official chart structure.

a. The difference between working in a factory that houses 30,000 workers and working in a department store catalog room that houses three workers is indicative of the influence of geographical structure.

b. The official organizational chart structure determines whether an organization is a staff organization or a line organization in regard to decision making. In a staff organization, staff personnel influence organizational decision making by virtue of their expertise; their role in decision making is advisory, however, and not direct. In a line organization, there is a direct chain of command that exercises direct and official control over decision making within the organization.

In addition, chart structure may determine whether the organization has a tall structure or a flat-line structure. These terms refer to the number of levels that separate the decision makers in an organization from the workers who carry out the decisions. The diagrams in Fig. 1 indicate tall and flat-line structures. In the former, the workers are removed by several layers from decision making; in the latter, the workers are removed by only one layer.

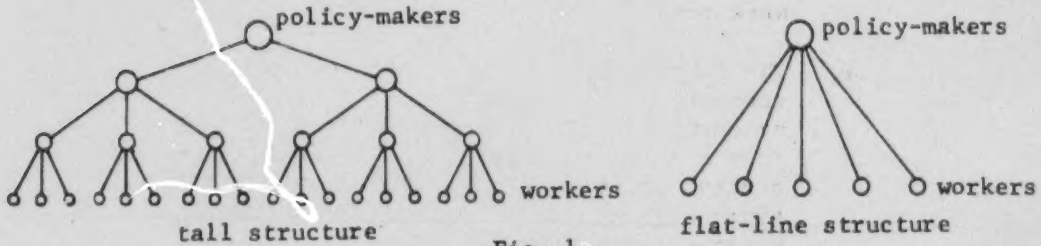

Fig. 1

These structural differences influence the degree of difficulty that people at the lower levels of an organization have in communicating grievances to those who make policy decisions.

c. Another consideration in regard to organizational structure is that every organization has both a formal and an informal structure. Because of variations in such personality characteristics as individual initiative, the official, formal, charted structure of an organization rarely corresponds exactly to the chain of responsibility that actually exists in that organization. An industrial psychologist, Beverly von Haller Gilmer, has observed that the structure of work organization in modern society is, in fact, changing due to modern technology. The chain of responsibilities in work organizations used to be much like a pyramid, with relatively few people involved in policy-making at the top, and many involved in carrying out policy at the bottom. Today, however, organizational structures reflect more closely the shape of the diagram in Fig. 2, the greatest number of people being involved in coordinating activities between the policy-makers and the workers.

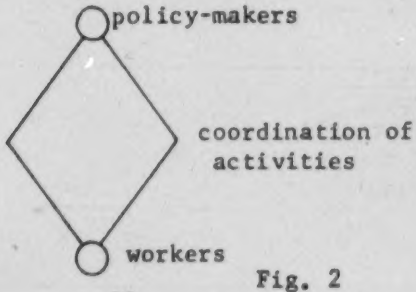

Fig. 2

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3. The third physical dimension of work organizations is the complexity of the organization. Complexity can exist in the variety of purposes within the organization, or in the differentiation of tasks with one purpose. An example of a multipurpose organization is an airline company that is involved in running an airline, operating a chain of hotels and running a catering service. An example of a unipurpose organization is a company that makes pianos. Because of the differentiation of tasks with one purpose, piano-making may require a complex organizational structure. In this type of organization people with different skills work toward the same goal.

4. The fourth physical dimension is technology. Different companies use different production techniques. The production techniques used often determine the kinds of jobs available in the firm. Technology is, therefore, crucial to many of the other organizational dimensions, since a change in technology may completely change the kinds of jobs that have to be done.

5. The communications network of the organization is a fifth physical dimension. Some studies of communications networks have been carried out in laboratories, and a few in industrial organizations. These investigations have sought to determine how readily information can be passed within an organization, and in what directions information can readily flow. In some organizations, all-direction communication, in which information flows readily from decision makers to workers and vice versa, may be inappropriate.

6. The last physical dimension is official decision making procedures within the organization. This dimension has several aspects: 1) which people in an organization are included officially in decision making (staff personnel, line personnel, or both); 2) what kinds of decisions are made by which classes of personnel; 3) whether the workers at the lower levels of the organization have a role in decision making; 4) whether the same people who make decisions are responsible for those decisions once made; and 5) how information that influences decision making is collected. Concerning this last aspect, all information on any one problem may be collected at once before the decision is made, or just enough information to satisfy minimal criteria for decision making may be collected at any one time. The latter method is called satisficing. The manner in which information is collected may determine the quality of the decision.

B. Psychological Dimensions: The major categories of the psychological dimensions of work organizations are the purposes, or goals, of the organization, the leadership aspect of the organization and the psychological climate of the organization.

1. Some studies have been done by Chris Argyris to determine whether organizational goals conflict with individual goals in a work organization. Argyris believes that it is possible to satisfy both organizational and individual goals at the same time, but that this is not yet being accomplished in modern industry. Conflicts between the two kinds of goals have a negative effect on the achievement of organizational goals. Argyris argues, therefore, that organizational maintenance (by which he means attending to individual goals) should be recognized as extremely important to the achievement of organizational goals.

2. The leadership aspect of the psychological dimension involves the authority structure and the mechanisms by which assigned responsibilities are carried out. How are rewards and punishments administered within the organizational system?

3. Lastly, the psychological climate of an organization may be demanding, competitive, agressive, etc. Psychologists have recently developed organizational personality scales to measure how similarly an organization is perceived by people on all levels within the organization and by people outside of the organization. The question raised by this personality scale is: Should the personality of the worker be matched to the organizational personality in order to more fully satisfy organizational goals?

III. Change: The common factor in all organizational structures is change. All organizations are changing structures, by virtue of the fact that organizations are composed of people who have limited tenure. Organizations do, however, differ in the rate of change according to the purposes of the organization, its technology, its size, etc. But the implication of change is crucial: the laws of interaction that we use to explain empirical data in work organizations must be constantly re-evaluated.

ITEM K --

"Institutions can be a trap as easily as they can be a powerful source of solutions."

So says Jeffrey Schrank in "The Institution Trap" in Media and Methods, November 1971. The article explains the ways in which Schrank feels this is true.

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WORKING WITH THE LEGISLATIVE SYSTEM

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Introduction and Directions

Directions: There are many projects that you can do either in the school building or in the community. The first thing that you should do is decide what you would really like to work on or research. It is important that it be your decision and not the decision of your friends or one that you think will please the teacher. Change in your society takes time and effort and you might find that you have started something that will last longer than a semester.

Read the Goals and Objectives, Questions and Projects, Senator Williams Do You Vote Aye or Nay on the Resolution Before the Senate and the House of Representatives, to get some ideas for a projects and some background on legislatures. Don't allow the projects listed to limit what you do. Use the list for ideas and plan your own project.

If you are going to do a research project on laws, legislatures or issues, discuss the guidelines for it with your instructor before you start the project.

If you are going to do a project in the community read through the articles on how to work with the proper legislature. Write out a plan to use as a working guide. Go to work on the problem. Keep a diary of events and feelings. Read the guidelines for a journal in the Suggested Daily Journal. Refer to the other materials in this unit as needed.

Introduction: This section will give you some suggestions on how to work for a change in your community by working with a legislature. All you have to do is provide the issue, the energy and the ideas. By reading the article on the legislature you are trying to influence you should get enough ideas to get started. By consulting with people that have tried to influence or lobby a legislature or a legislator you should get enough additional ideas to keep going.

Legislatures tend to be rather complex bodies that seem to spend long hours talking and listening. On each level of government they have their mechanisms for listening to citizens, speeding-up or slowing down new laws and ways to avoid making decisions. The materials in this section should help you in learning how to use these various mechanisms to try to bring about the change you want.

Often times positive or cooperative measures will not get your desired goal. Then it is important to know how to put other kinds of pressures on decision-makers. There are several articles in this section on how to pressure a legislature.

Goals and Objectives

Some of the goals and objectives for this section are listed below. They are not listed in order of importance. You can rank them in the order you think they should be in when you have finished your pfoject.

The student should understand:

Why the pace of change is often slow.

Why the decisions made are not always satisfactory to those that asked for the change.

The steps necessary to bring about, stop, slow down or speed up any change in your community.

How and why organizations operate the way they do.

Why various kinds of people get involved in the decision making process.

Why "people" can make a difference in governmental decisions.

That trying to influence your society can be both very rewarding and very frustrating.

That there are more than two sides to any question.

That there are many ways to avoid making a decision.

That there are many ways to shift the responsibility for decisions made.

That there are all kinds of career possibilities available in government.

SUGGESTED DAILY JOURNAL

The journal is for you -- to help you reconstruct, think, and feel about your involvement experiences. Processing or working through your perceptions and feelings are how you can gain the most from your experiences and the experiences of others.

How you write or develop your journal is also up to you. You might want to put "what happened" on the left-side of the pages with room for your feelings/reactions in liberal right-hand margins. Or you might want to focus on the following questions: In this session what did I learn about myself? What about myself did I share with others? What did I learn about the other individuals?

Each day write a paragraph or two reporting on your experiences related to this. The questions below suggest the kinds of things you can write about, but do not feel that you must limit your report to these questions if there is something else you would prefer to write about. You can probably write on one or two questions, and you can choose the ones that seem to relate to things that happen that day. Briefly describe the situation and reasons for your feelings.

1. How did your feelings about any person change as a result of this day's activities? Why?
2. How similar is your impression of yourself to the impression others have of you? Explain.
3. Were you surprised by any of the things people said about you? Explain.
4. What were some things you wanted to say today and did not say?
5. What did you do today which made you feel proud? Why?
6. What problems did you encounter?
7. What happened that made you feel uncomfortable or unhappy?
8. What criticisms did you receive and how did you respond to them?
9. What compliments were you given and what did they mean to you?
10. What did you do that seemed to be effective or ineffective in your relationship with others?
11. What did you do in your work that was enjoyable or satisfying?
12. What new task did you learn to perform?
13. How do you think you might need to change to succeed in a preferred career field?
14. What happened that made you feel you would (or would not) like (your choice) as a lifetime career?
15. Tell about the best thing that happened to you this week; something someone said or did, something you said or did, a feeling, an insight, a goal accomplished, etc.

This exercise taken, in part, from Pilot Training Project for Teachers of Distribution and Marketing, University of Minnesota, Summer 1967.

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Working with a Legislature

Questions and Projects

A. Working with a City Council

1. Work with a City Council member:

   A. Research issues or legislation for a council member. Give the reasons for several positions on each issue.

   B. Monitor the meeting of another council in the area or of the Metropolitan Council. Keep a record of what they are doing and how it might affect your city and report back to the council member.

   C. Survey the community on key issues for the council member.

2. Try to bring about a change in your community by getting the City Council to act.

3. Interview a council member. Use some of the questions in the Student Guide of Career Analysis.

4. Set up a flow chart or a game of "Pass a Law" for your city government showing both the formal and informal power structure.

5. Work with one of the advisory commissions or one of the departments that need volunteer help. Keep a diary of your experiences and feelings.

B. Working with the School Board

1. Try to bring about a change in your school, or your school district. Make out a list of suggestions and procedures for bringing about change in your school district.

2. Make a "power map" or a game of "Pass a Law" for your school or school district. Include both the formal and the informal power structures.

3. Interview a school board member. Use the questions in the Student Guide of Career Analysis as samples.

4. Pick an issue you are concerned about and research it for a board member. Find alternative solutions, costs, reasons for various positions, etc.

C. Working with the State Legislature.

1. Work for a State Senator or Representative in St. Paul. Spend an afternoon each week opening and organizing his or her mail, follow the proceedings of a key committee, research an issue and suggest reasons for various actions, help with constituent requests, etc.

2. Make a game of "Pass a Law" for the State Legislature. Show both the formal and informal legislative process.

3. Research a controversial issue that was in the legislature. Analyze how a decision was made on the issue. Who were the key people in the process? How was the legislation changed from when it was introduced until it was finally acted on?

4. Testify at a committee hearing. Prepare your materials and get on the agenda, then testify.

5. Ask your representative to bring a hearing of a committee on an issue you are concerned about to your area. Work with him or her on the hearing.

6. Write to the state legislature through your representative. Find out what reforms have been passed recently, what reforms of the legislature are pending and who is in charge of checking on the ethics of the various members. Make a list of suggested reforms based on your research. Work for their adoption.

7. Work for the adoption of a law that will help to solve a problem you think should be solved.

8. Interview a lobbyist or a legislator. Use the Student Guide for Career Analysis for some sample questions and ideas.

D. Working with the U.S. Congress

1. Write a letter to your Congressman on an issue that concerns you or that you want more information on. Use the suggestions in the section on how to write Washington. Keep a copy of the letter. What was the response to your letter.

2. Follow a bill through Congress in the media. Keep a collection of articles from local newspapers, national magazines, legislative news letters, press releases by pressure groups, etc. Answer as many of the questions about the legislative process as possible:

   A. Who sponsored the bill?
   B. Who were the key people in getting the bill passed?

C. Who were the key opponents of the bill?
D. What parliamentary moves were used on the bill?
E. What groups and lobbyists worked for and against the bill?
F. What role did the executive branch have in the process?
G. What were the critical stages for the bill?
H. Did the bill make it through the legislature in a form acceptable to you?
I. How long did the process take?
J. How many individuals or groups in the legislature had a chance to kill or drastically alter the bill?

3. Find the history of how a bill that you care about became a law or failed to become a law. Answer as many of the questions from the above list of questions as possible.

4. What legislative reforms do you think should be adopted in Congress? Why? What would be the result of these reforms? How would you get these reforms adopted by Congress?

5. Research a topic such as seniority in Congress. Trace the history of, the criticisms of, the defense of and various alternatives to the issue. Suggest some reforms and what are political possibilities of getting the reforms acted on.

6. Do a research project on "Violence as a Political Tool." Do your findings support the articles in the section on violence?

Urban Problems

1. Poverty Related Problems

   A. Substandard housing
   B. Unemployment
   C. Presence of trash, garbage and filth
   D. Vermin, roaches and other pests
   E. Health problems
      1. Lower life expectancy
      2. High infant and maternal death rates
      3. Poor access to health care facilities
      4. A higher prevalence of illness (physical, mental illness and retardation)
   F. Family instability
   G. Unavailability of social services
   H. Inferior recreational facilities
   I. Harassment and discrimination by official agencies (police, courts, etc.)
   J. Inferior educational facilities
   K. A higher number of poorly educated and untrained persons
   L. A lack of privacy
   M. General sense of powerlessness (feelings of inferiority)
   N. A lack of money (deprivation)
   O. High birth rates
   P. A high concentration of people on fixed incomes (aged, unemployed, etc.)

2. Non-poverty related

   Q. Air, water, noise, visual, etc., pollution
   R. Traffic congestion
   S. Population density
   T. Inadequate public transportation
   U. Unsafe streets
   V. Generally unaesthetic surroundings
   W. Poor control over urban growth patterns
   X. Unsatisfactory patterns of socialization (anomie, isolation, etc.)
   Y. A general absence of large natural preserves
   Z. Inadequate sense of identity (a place in the social structure, a sense of community, of responsibility, etc.)

Working With the City Council

The following suggestions are based on experiences that various groups and individuals have had in working with local city councils. Use them in planning your project.

1. Attend some council meetings. Get to know the council members, how they make decisions, who seems to have the most influence, etc.

2. Study the issue! Know all sides of the issue.

3. Talk to someone who has lobbied the council before and set up a plan.

4. Do the following in the order that best fits your issue:

   Get on the Council Agenda.

   Have only one spokesman for the group or one person speaking to each issue.

   Plan your presentation. Don't repeat. Don't take too long.

   Have a summary handout to give to the council explaining your position.

   Contact the members ahead of time so they will have time to think through the various points of view.

5. If the issue is postponed, find out when it is on the agenda again. Be there ready to answer any questions.

6. Get as broad a base for your group and your presentation as you can.

7. Don't over-lobby. Let the council know you are interested but don't keep calling them every day to find out what their decision might be.

8. Listen while the opposition presents their arguments.

Title: Looking at Cities Realistically
Source: Minneapolis Star, February 12, 1971

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Editor's Note: Arthur Naftalin, former Mayor of Minneapolis and now professor of public affairs at the University of Minnesota, recently spoke at a National League of Cities meeting in Atlanta. Following are excerpts from that speech, in which he discussed urban realities and initiatives.

The first reality is this: The political and economic power of the central city has precipitously declined and it will continue to decline in the future. The 1970 census gives the definitive word: Everywhere central cities have only a minority of the population of the area that they serve. Increasingly the resources of the urban area are situated in the suburbs while the problems are located in the central city.

This reality can be regarded as either an obstacle or an opportunity - as either an immutable condition that will not yield to civic leadership or a challenge for both the central city and the suburbs, leading them to recognize their common interest in the wholesome and orderly growth of the region and in their building on the strengths of the larger area.

Our second reality is the growing presence of state government in shaping policies affecting major urban centers. Today's public mood favoring decentralization and limitation of governmental authority is exemplified by the passage of the Omnibus Crime Act that made law enforcement assistance contingent upon state involvement and required central city subordination to regional and state plans. When further federal programs to aid the cities come - as come they must - the state governments will be involved.

We remember somewhat fondly the day of direct federal-city relationships, despite the many bureaucratic frustrations and delays, and yet it wasn't all that good. We could have used some state money for city programs, and, if state involvement means in time state money, it will prove to be an opportunity rather than an obstacle.

The growing presence of state governments in urban affairs highlights a third reality, which is the indispensability of massive federal financial support to aid cities on a basis that takes into account the widespread disparities in resources and in need that exist among the states and within local areas.

By now it should be clear that conditions of feast and famine abound over the nation. Suburbs, relative to their needs, have greater resources than the central cities, but even among suburbs there is great variation in per capita wealth and tax base. Some states are poor and others relatively well off. So long as these inequities and disparities exist, municipalities and states will not undertake the urban programs that are needed for fear that they will impair their competitive position relative to other states and municipalities.

It is only the national government that can make the resources available in a fashion that will transcend the disparities. It is only the President and

the Congress that can establish a national policy that commits the nation to national programs based on nationwide standards and supported by the national economy.

The final reality is the irrepressible demand for sharing in the decision-making process by constituents who are affected by public policies.

In the mid-sixties, when the first demands for citizen participation began to be vigorously advanced, many municipal officials were disbelieving and incredulous, and they reacted with resistance and even hostility. Some regarded the push for involvement as a product of misguided agitation and as reflecting a transitory ideology. As one who experienced some of those early demands, I know the feeling of alarm and frustration they aroused.

Community participation, community control, decentralization, maximum feasible representation of the poor - by whatever name - the phenomenon of citizen involvement is a reality that is here to stay and I believe it will grow stronger.

To meet today's challenges requires extraordinary leadership and an unusual willingness on the part of municipal leaders to develop approaches that entail a sharp break with the past and that represent new initiatives in relations with constituents and with other governmental levels.

The first of these initiatives is the establishment of governmental arrangements that enable the people of a metropolitan area to deal with their areawide problems and yet not invade the historic autonomies of local units.

Part of the reality we face is the fact that we will not significantly alter the identities and autonomies of existing local governments through mergers, consolidations, disincorporations, or annexations. Reorganization efforts aimed at reducing the pyramid of governing units serving one region are not likely to be very successful.

Nevertheless, some of our most serious problems can be handled on an integrated areawide basis and in a fashion that need not disturb existing autonomies. We need not terrify each other with grand schemes of metropolitan government or with suggestions that existing municipal autonomies should be sharply curtailed, but we should instead emphasize in positive terms the advantages of a cooperative approach to areawide management of those functions that cannot be dealt with effectively in any other way.

A second initiative relates to the city's growing interdependence with other levels of government, especially to the rising importance of state government. This is the systematic pooling and coordination of research and planning resources among official and unofficial agencies involved in common concerns.

In many places one finds a substantial diffusion of resources as governmental bodies and citizen groups pursue separate but often parallel efforts to find workable solutions to thorny problems.

Often these interests are competitive and the separate studies will exclude alternatives that may not be especially advantageous to the sponsoring body. In

the end the findings have limited value because they have not evolved in a sufficiently broad context.

By pooling money and manpower, governmental agencies and community organizations interested in the same problem can concentrate research and planning efforts and emerge with proposals that are likely to command greatly enhanced confidence and public awareness.

Valuable as areawide efforts and cooperative ventures are, they will not produce the resources that are indispensable for an adequate attack on our urban problems. The resources can come realistically only from action at the national level. Thus, my third initiative is for a greatly expanded and much more systematically developed political effort to obtain congressional recognition of the urgency of urban problems.

No restructuring of its government will substitute for a city's lack of money. Charter reform that enlarges the capability of the mayor and the city council and that clarifies the lines of responsibility and accountability are valuable and should be pursued, as should metropolitan government and other efforts that coordinate areawide energies. But basic inequities and disparities that remain will continue to paralyze local efforts. They can be overcome only by national policies that mandate goals and mandate the resources necessary to achieve them.

With this initiative we should unite on a nonpartisan basis to revive the idea of the New Federalism advanced some months ago by President Nixon and to insist that Congress adopt some meaningful form of revenue-sharing.

Finally, the initiative that may in the end hold the greatest import for shaping the quality of urban life for the future is the development of formal mechanisms that provide for meaningful participation of rank-and-file citizens in decisions affecting them.

It becomes a primary responsibility of elected officials at all levels to provide alternatives that convert public resistance from blind negativism to constructive opportunity.

Working with the School Board

TOPIC: POLITICAL ACTION

TITLE: LOBBYING THE SCHOOL BOARD

SOURCE: SEXISM IN SCHOOLS - A HANDBOOK FOR ACTION,
Pages 3 - 20 A & B 1973 $2.00

BY: NINA ROTHCHILD
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THE AUTHOR IS A SCHOOL BOARD MEMBER IN

MAHTOMEDI, MINNESOTA AND THE MOTHER OF

THREE CHILDREN

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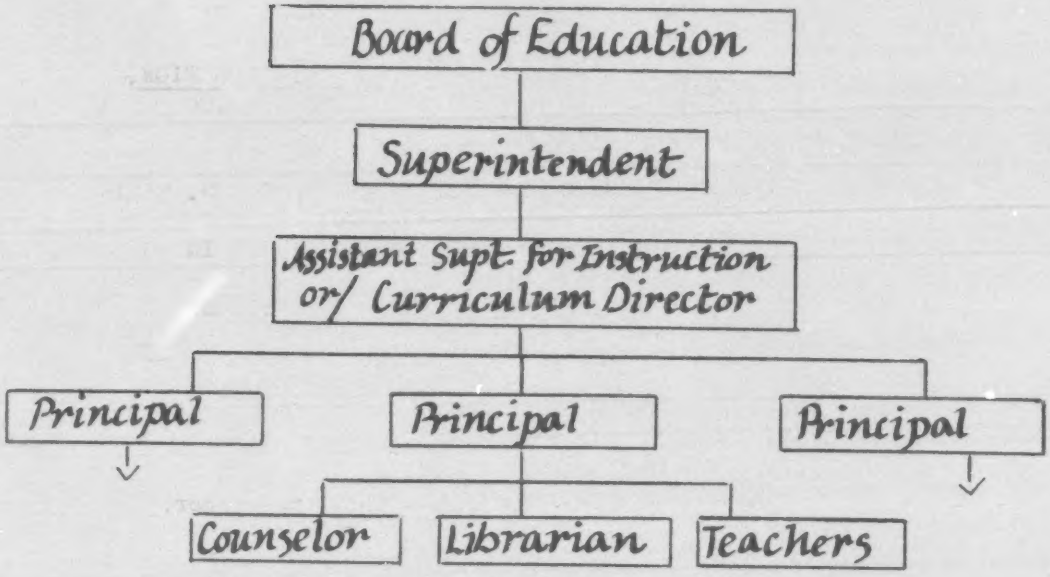
The Power Structure

Although school districts vary considerably in size and are governed under the theory of local control, they are remarkably similar in structure. An organization chart for most school systems looks like this:



The only variation you are likely to find is in positions such as assistant superintendents, coordinators, or consultants. Sometimes these are line jobs (as shown) and sometimes their position in the hierarchy is unclear. The larger the school district, the more likely you are to find these miscellaneous personnel. They go by such names as Assistant Superintendent, Director of Curriculum, Director of Secondary Education, or Coordinator of Curriculum.

The problem, therefore, with dealing with a large district is that you are more likely to get a bureaucratic

runaround than in a small district where job responsibilities are clearly defined. On the other hand, the advantage of a large district is that you are more likely to find allies on the "inside."

It is usually more effective to work together with people rather than against them. Do not place yourself in an adversary relationship with the schools or you may actually hinder what you are trying to accomplish. As you attempt to learn about the structure of your district, try to identify those within the system who are already sensitive to sex bias or those who can be won over to your view with a cooperative approach.

HOMEWORK: Get a copy of your district or school handbook (if available) and find out the nature of your district's organization and the names of the persons you will be dealing with. If a handbook is not available, ask at your district office for a list of the professional personnel. Your district office may be called either district office, superintendent's office, or central administration, and is listed in the phone book either under its name or under "I" for Independent School District. If you find you have trouble getting the things you need, speak to the Superintendent's secretary. She usually knows everything.

(NOTE: Some local chapters of the League of Women Voters have made studies of their schools and could be a source of structural information. Call your local League to see if they have such a study available.)

Board of Education

The school board consists of six or seven persons who are elected on a staggered basis each May for three-year terms. In Minnesota most school board members are male, but many boards contain at least one woman and occasionally you will find two women on the board. The board's job is to set overall policy for the school, but in reality they have little control over what goes on in the classroom. They are essentially unpaid, very part-time persons who hire "professionals" to oversee the educational program. They think of the administration as "our team" -- you will find sports terminology rampant in the public schools -- and will never publicly undermine the

superintendent and administration. Boards ask for, and usually follow, recommendations from the administration. The real decision-making, therefore, is done by those who are full-time, on-the-job, in-the-schools.

In spite of this, however, it is usually worthwhile and necessary to communicate with board members for the following reasons: (1) The board has power over those who do make decisions. If you're willing to go to the top of the hierarchy, the administration knows you are serious; (2) The board is made up of elected officials, and must therefore appear to pay attention to their constituents. All professional personnel in the schools have tenure, and are less likely to be responsive to the public; (3) All policy and budget changes must be approved by the board, so sooner or later the board will vote on issues which concern you; (4) You can often find out something you want to know more quickly and easily by asking a board member to find out for you. A board member has more "clout" with school personnel than does a private citizen.

In dealing with the board, remember that a board member has no real authority or power as an individual. A majority vote of the board is necessary for any action to be taken. The most effective way to influence the board, therefore, is to send any communications <u>in writing</u> to <u>all</u> members of the board. In addition, if the issue is a publicly popular one, present it at a public meeting. Don't count on just one member of the board "carrying the ball" for you.

<u>HOMEWORK 1</u>: Know the names, addresses, phone numbers, and term of office of each board member. Know the meeting time and place for board meetings. Attend several board meetings to get a feeling for what your board is like. If you sense that one of the board might be sympathetic to your point of view, call her/him and ask if she/he is aware or concerned about sex bias in the schools. Having an ally on the board is well worth the trouble of trying to find one.

<u>HOMEWORK 2</u>: Get involved in school board elections. Raise your questions of candidates, support candidates who support your view, or field your own candidate.

Superintendent

The superintendent is the top man* in the school system and wields an enormous amount of power. He is held responsible for the entire school program, personnel, budget, finances, public relations, etc. So, while the board may set general policy, in fact most major decisions are made by the superintendent after consulting with his administrative team. This is particularly true when money is involved.

Beyond the decision-making power, however, is the power he holds over his staff by virtue of being the "boss." It is therefore important that you know something about your superintendent and whether to expect support or resistance from him. If a superintendent is really serious about something, chances are it will get done, although this is less true in a large district where layers of bureaucracy filter out his influence before it reaches the classroom.

The superintendent is a busy man with pressures from all sides: teachers, taxpayers, administrators, students, parents, and board members. His skills must be those of a mediator and general administrator and it is therefore unlikely for him to have the time to make a strong stand on sex discrimination his overriding priority. The most you can expect is a willingness to use his position to influence the board and staff. But, considering the power he holds, it is well worth trying to get him on your side.

Because of his need to be neutral on controversial issues, it is best to approach him privately at first. If you find him ignoring you, you will then have to confront both him and the board at a public meeting. Superintendents are ex-officio members of the board and are always present at board meetings.

Most board meetings have an item on the agenda called "communications" or "other business," a time when the public may speak on issues not on the regular agenda. Therefore, if your superintendent ignores you in private, or if your district is so large that he doesn't have time for individual meetings, use the public meeting as a way to get his ear.

*Not a generic term. In Minnesota, all superintendents are male.

HOMEWORK: Make an appointment with your superintendent to meet with you or, even better, a group of you. Send him some general consciousness-raising materials first. Take along the State Department of Education's policy on "Eliminating Sex Bias in the Public Schools." Ask him who has received the guidelines within the school and whether or not he has discussed it with them. Ask what your district has done to implement the guidelines and what they intend to do. If your superintendent won't meet with you, or if you get the runaround from him, say the same things to the board at a public meeting. He will be listening.

Directors

Assistant Superintendents, Curriculum Coordinators, Directors, etc. are the educational "specialists" of the system. It is usually their responsibility to coordinate the curriculum, improve the curriculum, improve the teaching methods, and arrange in-service training for teachers. Their authority varies from system to system, but generally they have to rely on persuasion rather than power. If a coordinator is respected by teachers, he can be very effective in influencing the school program. If he is not, he has power only as a member of the administrative "team."

Since his job is more abstract than others in the schools (he doesn't have to keep 30 kids busy every day or see that the building is orderly), he will probably be willing to sit down with you and tell you something about his own responsibilities and those of others. In this way, you might find out who actually decides on a textbook series, who decides whether shop is co-ed, and so on.

Alternatively, if your director appears too busy to help you (and this often happens since directors fear they are expendable and must therefore appear busy), there is usually a school policy book available in your district office which contains job descriptions for all personnel. Thus, if you are unclear about the responsibilities of your personnel and are unable to get help from the coordinator, ask to see a copy of the school's policy book.

The advantage of having a director on your side is in the numbers. There are just too many teachers in a system for you to reach very many of them. A respected director,

therefore, can have influence in many classrooms, particularly in the areas which lead to sex-stereotyping: curriculum material and teacher behavior.

(NOTE: Among directors of various types, the Athletic Director is in a class by himself. Chances are he is also head football coach and will resist you every inch of the way.)

HOMEWORK: Make an appointment with your director after flooding him with consciousness-raising materials, studies of sex bias, book lists, etc. Curriculum directors work primarily with paper, so the more the better. When you see him, have the State Department guidelines with you. Ask him the same questions you asked the superintendent as well as asking about his own responsibilities in textbook selection, curriculum decisions, teacher in-service, etc.

Principals

Principals are, in theory, the educational leaders of their buildings. In reality most are too burdened with housekeeping work to have much impact on education. They spend their time keeping the building orderly, checking schedules and attendance, taking care of personnel problems, and generally doing building manager types of things. There are exceptions to this, however, and you will probably want to find out what your principal is like, again on the basis of numbers. A principal can have a great deal of impact on the general "tone" of his school and on teacher attitudes. He is the boss to most teachers since he is directly above them in the hierarchy; he is usually responsible for teacher evaluation, and he wields power accordingly.

It's not worth your time to go to all the principals in your district. They think in terms of "their" school and "their" parents, and are likely to pay attention only to persons who actually have kids in their school. Your own principal, however, will be very willing to see you because part of his job is to pacify parents.

HOMEWORK: Make an appointment with your principal, take along whatever materials you consider appropriate, and ask him the same questions you asked the director or curriculum coordinator. Do not use this visit to make a complaint about a specific teacher unless you

have already talked to her and received no satisfaction. Your time is best used to encourage the principal to think of positive ways to help all his teachers become more aware of sexist attitudes and practices. Principals tend to be pragmatic, and react more favorably to specific suggestions than to blanket criticism.

Teachers

Teachers are, of course, at the heart of the educational process. If all teachers were non-sexists, this booklet would not exist. Unfortunately, however, many teachers (like many others) are not only sexists, but are totally unaware of it. Do not expect female teachers to be more aware or sympathetic than male teachers; most teachers have traditional values and consider it appropriate for boys and girls to learn their traditional sex roles in our society.

On the other hand, you have three plusses when dealing with teachers. Both the MEA and the MFT have taken positions on sex discrimination, and most teachers, if reminded of it, will not overtly go against their professional organization. Secondly, teachers who have recently taken their course in human relations* will have had some exposure to the topic of sexism. Thirdly, of all the personnel in the school, your child's teacher will be the most sensitive to a parent's concern.

Converting the teacher is "where it's at." If that cannot be done, nothing real is going to happen; the programs will be form without substance. Don't let your animosities toward some of the teachers you have had to deal with blind you to what some of the interesting, exciting, and dedicated teachers can do and are doing in this area. Teachers in good, creative schools are not mere functionaries; they usually have power over their textbook choice, curriculum revision, content of their particular courses, and the responsibility to make suggestions for professional workshops. A good teacher can even flourish in an inhospitable environment.

If your teacher seems totally unaware in the area of sex bias, a good strategy to use is a comparison of black-white

*All teachers, except those with lifetime certificates, are required to take a course in human relations before being certified or re-certified. Sexism is one component of this course.

when talking of male-female. For example, if your child's teacher uses the common and apparently harmless practice of saying, "boys over here, girls over there," you can point out that she wouldn't do the same thing with "blacks over here, whites over there."

Use your best judgment about your approach and the materials suitable for teachers since the level of awareness will vary from one to another; but just remember that the more you can document your views, the more effective you will be.

HOMEWORK: If your children are in elementary school, they probably tell you about their life in school. Look through their books for evidences of sex bias. Visit your child's class. Although you may feel threatened by visiting your child's teacher, make an appointment to see her. Bring consciousness-raising materials, and ask if she, too, is concerned about this issue. Be reasonable and helpful, and see if you can gain a convert.

If your children are in secondary school, they probably have many teachers. Ask your children if any of them have shown an interest in this subject. If so, get in touch with them, and offer your help. See the chapter on teacher awareness for specific suggestions for both elementary and secondary teachers.

Counselors

Counselors are responsible for advising students about their school program and about their post-high school plans. Counselors vary considerably in the way they carry out this function. At one extreme is the counselor who is primarily a record-keeper. He spends his time entering test scores on forms, straightening out schedules, routinely approving programs, and passing out college catalogues. At the other extreme is the counselor who is a true friend and advocate for the kids.

Because counseling is an area where sexist attitudes can be so damaging, a more extended discussion of counseling can be found in the chapter on sex-role stereotyping.

Librarians

Librarians are responsible for the libraries within their schools and in most cases have the authority to buy the books for their libraries. In a large district, a head librarian may make the final approval of the books, but generally a building librarian has a good deal of autonomy. Because of this independence from the rest of the bureaucratic structure, you are very likely to have more success with less hassle here than in other attempts to change the schools. Again it is a process of raising the awareness of the librarian and convincing her that the sex-stereotyping in children's books is harmful to kids.

In visiting your librarian you have two advantages: one is that parents seldom take any interest in library books except for the negative book-burners, so your librarian will probably welcome the attention from someone who has constructive suggestions about library books. People who respect books have a natural empathy. The second advantage is that you will have concrete proposals which are easy for her to carry out since she has to buy books anyway.

HOMEWORK: Visit your school librarian after calling ahead to find out what time is convenient for her. Take along studies showing sex-stereotyping in children's books and any other materials you think useful to raise her level of awareness. Take along book lists of children's books which have been approved by feminist organizations. Be pleasant and reasonable and positive so you will not be branded a book-burner. Do not ask her to remove books, but emphasize that you want a balance in the library.

Emphasize the cumulative effect of so many books showing girls as passive and boys as active, etc. She will be pleased that you, too, consider children's books important in developing attitudes and values. Leave the materials and lists you brought and say you'll be interested in hearing from her later about the usefulness of the lists.

Students

Students are supposed to be what education is all about, but in reality they are practically powerless in the schools. It is worth talking to the kids, however, because only from them will you get a truly honest picture of what goes on in the schools. Your children, their friends, and your friends' children are therefore your best source of information about what really happens in your own district.

In talking to the kids you can find out such things as: Do they allow boys more sports activities than girls? Do they play boys against girls in classroom games? Do they punish boys by making them sit with the girls? Do they encourage girls to think about a career beyond motherhood and housekeeping?

Are shop and home-ec open to both boys and girls? Do the boys get to use athletic facilities more than girls? Do the counselors discourage girls with ambition? Do Family Life classes singularly glorify motherhood and the nuclear family? Do the health classes for girls talk about grooming and popularity? Does career education reinforce stereotyped roles? Do the Health movies emphasize masculine and feminine roles and behavior? Can cheerleaders ride on the same bus with the boy athletes?

HOMEWORK: Ask the kids you know some of the questions listed above plus any other questions of particular interest to you. Ask them if "women's lib" has been discussed in any of their classes. Ask them what was said. Offer to come and talk to classes about feminist issues. Publicise your liberation group if you belong to one and encourage high school girls to join. Notify the students in charge of assemblies that speakers and films are available, and offer to help set up an assembly program for them.

Budget and Finance

Before trying to change specific practices of the schools it is helpful to understand some of the real problems of the schools and to understand some of the ways in which schools operate.

Money Troubles

The biggest problem facing the schools at this time is the limitation on money available to them. In the past, schools could decide what they wanted to spend, and then levy the taxes for it. Since 1970, however, there are levy limitations imposed by law, so the schools now must function within a restricted budget. At the same time enrollments in many schools are dropping, particularly in the elementary grades. Taken together, this means that some districts are laying off staff rather than hiring them and dropping programs rather than adding them. This is a reality which will make your job harder.

It means, for instance, that if you are concerned with a social studies department that is all male (because they were hired as coaches), there will be no way to create a balance when no new teachers are being hired. Similarly, if you are concerned with the athletic budget, it may be that boys' programs will have to be cut if there are to be girls' programs added. Although schools show no lack of imagination in making excuses, lack of funds is not an excuse but a reality. You will just have to present proposals which fall within the budgetary restrictions of your school district.

Budget Procedures

Since proposals you make will be dependent on the money available, it is useful to know something about the budgeting procedures in your district.

The fiscal year for school districts runs from July 1 of one year to June 30 of the next. The school year 1973-1974, for example, falls within the fiscal year 1973-1974 (sometimes referred to as fiscal '74). The school budget must by law be formally approved and

adopted by October 10 of the fiscal year for which it is planned; e.g., October 10, 1973, for fiscal '74.

Prior to formal adoption, most boards hold a public hearing on the budget. This, however, is no time for argument or proposals. By the time of this meeting the numbers are well set, there is little flexibility left, and the hearing is just a formality. There remain, nevertheless, reasons to attend the public hearing on the budget: the board and administration are particularly vulnerable when they see in total how much of other people's money they are spending; the board and administration can be hassled about what they have or haven't done (which is always fun); and you can get good publicity because the press is always there.

The process of putting the budget together, however, starts at least a year earlier than the formal hearing and final adoption. In many districts it is practically a year-round affair. A typical time sequence is: September to November for major changes in priorities and programs for the following year; December to March for the administration to put a tentative budget together; and March to June for the board to review, revise, and approve the line items. Therefore, the closer the budget is to formal adoption, the less flexibility there is in adjusting the figures.

A review of the budgeting process for most school districts clearly shows that you cannot expect changes that cost money within a current school year; you must press in the fall and winter of one year for changes in the next. The heavy work of budgeting for the coming year is done between December and May, and you will be most effective if you make proposals early in that time. Similarly, staffing proposals should be presented in January or February since teacher contracts for the coming year are issued by March 20.

The procedure for building the budget can take one of two forms: either starting from the bottom up or from the top down. In the former case, teachers and other staff members make proposals for their needs, these are reviewed and revised and expanded by principals, who then pass them on to the curriculum directors or assistant superintendents for revision and review, and so on up the hierarchy. Under the second method, the top management apportions money to the different schools and programs,

usually on a per-pupil basis, and it is up to the principal or program director to decide how the money will be spent. This latter method is becoming more common now that levy limitations have put a lid on spending. In either case the school board has final approval of all budget figures.

School boards vary in their involvement with the budget-building process. Some boards just routinely approve the budget during various stages of its development, while others will question each item in detail at each step. In either case it is hard for the board to know where the money really goes because school budgets lump figures together in ways which seem to deliberately obscure the way money is spent. For example, the line item "Student Activities--Salaries" may be a lump sum covering salaries for all coaches, club advisors, band directors, etc. There is no way to tell from the budget how much is actually spent for football and how much for dramatics. It takes a great deal of pressure, even from a board member, to get rational figures from the school administration. The figures are there, but no one wants to go to the trouble of digging them out, nor in many cases do they want you to know what is actually spent for football compared to dramatics.

Business Manager

The role of the school business manager has not been discussed previously because his position is somewhat outside the educational hierarchy of the schools. The business manager is responsible for all the non-educational aspects of the system -- buildings and grounds, secretarial staff, food services, transportation, and purchasing -- as well as responsible for all bookkeeping and accounting in the district. All budget figures, therefore, should be available in his office. In most cases, however, the business manager will not develop figures at your request, but does so only for members of the administration or the board. A simple phone call to the business manager will tell you how cooperative he will be with the general public. If he won't develop figures for you directly, request them of the board or the administration. Your phone call will not be a waste, in any case, because you can also ask him what budgeting procedures and timetable your district uses.

Strategies for Action

If you have followed some of the homework guides in the first section, you probably now have a good idea about the structure and practices in your own school district, who makes which decisions about what, and how much support and resistance you can expect. But knowing this is only the first step in dealing with sexism in the schools. You will now have to think of some strategies as you try to change some of the practices and influence the personnel.

It would be nice if you could just point out some of the inequities and thereby have them changed -- but it doesn't happen that way. Like all bureaucracies, schools suffer from inertia and it takes a great deal of pressure to change anything. This chapter is designed to give you an idea about what your advantages and disadvantages will be, and which strategies are likely to be successful.

Advantages & Disadvantages

Your chief advantage in trying to change the school is that it is considered appropriate for women* (and mothers) to be interested in their children's education. For the most part it is the mother who comes to parent conferences or calls the principal. Men tend to limit their school activities to standing up once a year and making a pitch for fiscal responsibility -- and getting elected to the school board. You are therefore playing a role sanctioned by society, and do not blow it by being hostile and taking extreme positions. The press has had a field day ridiculing "women's lib," and you can't afford to conform to this image. You want the school to think of you as a conscientious mother concerned about her children's welfare.

This brings us to your chief disadvantage, which is that women's liberation does not yet have wide public support. It is much easier to change things when everyone agrees with you. Although the feminist movement is a growing one, public attitudes on the women's movement still range mostly from indifference to what is considered a marginal issue to outright ridicule and hostility. Your

*If you are male and reading this book, welcome to the sisterhood.

biggest problem will be convincing people that sexism is a serious and important problem.

Just because your friends are liberated, don't assume the same is true of the general public. Most people, in the schools and out, are unconsciously sexist. Although you will meet agreement on such issues as equal pay for equal work, you might as well accept the fact that when you talk about such things as stereotyping and sex roles, you will be met with a blank look.

The following strategies should help you as you try to change this:

Documentation

The written word has more authority than the spoken word, so it is important to have printed materials with which to document your case. The Resource section lists materials which are appropriate for various purposes, and make sure you have enough copies to leave some with the persons you see. Always bring something in writing, even if it is only something you have written up yourself summarizing the things you planned to discuss. The human ear, particularly the male ear, has been trained to filter out the female voice; so make it hard for them to forget you were there.

In gathering written materials, try to get documentation on sexism in your own school to add to the general studies. See the Resource section for samples of this kind of information. You do not want them to be able to say, "This may be generally true, but not here." The people in your own school have little control over things outside their district (such as State High School League rules) so you want to give them information about things they can change.

Focus

Although there are many school practices you may want to change, it is best to decide on one issue, one with a good probability of success, and focus your attention on it. Otherwise the issues will get confused, opposition and resistance will be multiplied, and your energies dissipated. This does not mean, for example, that you should wait until the schools spend the same amount on girls'

athletics as they do on boys before you raise another issue; but you should be aware that you will accomplish little if you go off in all directions at once.

Numbers

The school will always pay more attention to a number of parents than to an individual. Most people tend to gripe privately about the schools, but surprisingly few ever even pick up the phone to call a board member, a principal, or a teacher. Therefore, five mothers can seem like a mob. If you belong to a liberation group, you already have your built-in crowd. If not, it will help to have allies in your community. Try contacting your local chapter of N.O.W., the Minnesota Women's Political Caucus, either the DFL or GOP feminist caucuses, or the League of Women Voters for the names of persons in your community who might be interested in this issue. You could also sound out those who have been active in civil and human rights organizations in your area.

If there is someone on your school board who is sympathetic to your cause, she or he may know of others in the community who share your views. If all this fails, try some consciousness-raising among your friends and neighbors or by helping to arrange for a PTA program about sexism. And if you are still alone, go ahead anyway; it is better for one person to act rather than none.

The Press

Although your views are not popularly accepted ones, you can expect fair treatment from the local press. Most small town and suburban newspapers are heavily staffed with women who are underpaid, overworked, and hungry for local news. There's even a good chance you will find an ally among them, particularly if you are helpful about providing the facts and figures for them. Use the press only for cases of outright discrimination, such as the athletic budget, differential in pay between men and women, and other cases where hard numbers are on your side. "Sex-role stereotyping" is too abstract an issue to expect good press from it.

You will find you are safer in dealing with the press if you write the press releases yourself, as is common in politics and business. By giving reporters written material you are assured that the statistics at least are

accurately published. This is an important step in avoiding diversionary confrontations over whether or not the "press reports" were accurate.

In addition to straight news stories, the letters to the editor section provides a good way to get publicity. You can write either as an individual or as a representative of your organization. Small town papers, particularly, like getting letters from their readers, and will almost always print them. See the Resource section for sample press releases and letters to the editor.

Persistence

The normal bureaucratic reaction to any issue is to ignore it in the hope that it will go away. Therefore you must be prepared to be persistent. Do not think that if you have finally documented an athletic budget of $40,000 for boys and $2,000 for girls that anyone within the school will automatically change it. You must make it clear to the school authorities that you consider this a serious issue and you will not go away until something is done about it. Sometimes the schools will do something just to get someone off their backs. You will also be more effective if you have specific and realistic proposals for change. It is much harder to fight someone who is for something than someone who is just against something without solutions to the problem.

While making it clear that you intend to be persistent, do not be tricked into losing your cool. The schools have devised a neat system for dealing with concerned parents: they just ignore them until the parents become frustrated and rude and angry. Then the school can write them off as "kooks" and "rednecks" and go on with business as usual. Do not fall into this trap.

Your Rights

Always remember that the schools belong to the people -- and that means you, not the staff and administration. They use <u>your</u> money to educate <u>your</u> children, and you have a right to know what is going on in them. School board meetings, by law, must be open to the public. School budgets, by law, are open to you. The school buildings are public property and you have a right to be there. School personnel are public employees paid by your taxes.

Schools say they welcome visitors, but in reality they turn out to be structured to make you feel uncomfortable when you visit. Similarly, they may treat you like an interloper when you are trying to get budget figures. But do not let this put you off -- insist on your right to know. If necessary, fight for that right in public and in the press. You are on the popular side on the issue of the public's right to know.

The study of folklore in a primitive society found that the stories passed down through the generations portrayed the elders as wise, courageous and powerful and then it was found that the elders were the storytellers of the tribe.

Sexism in Education

One other area of power and influence in most school districts is the local professional organizations that teachers and counselors belong to. The teachers will have local groups that are affiliated with either the Minnesota Education Association (MEA) or the Minnesota Federation of Teachers (MFT).

Homework: Contact the local officers of the organization and find out if:

1. They have a stand on the issue you are interested in?
2. They have a local or state committee that is working on the problem or would be willing to work on the problem.
3. You can send them information on the change you want.
4. They would be willing to aid you in dealing with the school board.

Questions and Projects from "Teaching About the 'Real' World - The School"

___ 1. Make a chart of the power structure in the organization you are working with or belong to.

___ 2. Use the four kinds of <u>influence</u>: knowledge, wealth, power and authority, to analyze a change that took place in an organization you are working with or belong to.

___ 3. Other questions on different kinds of <u>influence</u>:

____ A. When are different types of <u>influence</u> more effective than others in bringing about the desired change?

____ B. Which type of <u>influence</u> produced more conflict?

____ C. Which type of <u>influence</u> blocked change?

Read about a policy change at any level or unit of government and then analyze it. Which type of <u>influence</u> was most effective in bringing about the change?

What other factors, such as the person's values, were important in shaping the change?

____ D. Interview a decision-maker about a recent decision he or she had to make. Analyze it.

Lobbying the School Board

Source: Minneapolis Star, July 16, 1974

STUDENTS GAIN FAITH IN LETTUCE CAMPAIGN
By Betsy Barry

When the St. Paul School Board voted to initiate a lettuce boycott in the public schools, it restored some high school students' faith in "the establishment."

"It needs a lot of reform, but we proved that if you really want something, it can be done," John Mahoney, one of the students, said. Before the board's vote last week, John had "absolutely no faith in the system," he said.

The lettuce boycott was something 18 students "really wanted" and worked four months to get.

It started as a research project in a social-science class in March, but by the end of the school year it grew into a drive for a full commitment from the school board.

The students were from St. Paul's New City School, a learning center for students from all the high schools in the city.

During the four months, they studied the history and practices of labor unions, the legislative process, the social conditions of migrant workers and some economics. But what they said they learned was what their instructor, Stephen Sandell, called the project's purpose: to learn how individuals can affect government.

"I wanted them to realize how important they each are to the process of government," Sandell said. "I didn't care which side of the issue they decided to sympathize with, just so they made a decision and did something about it."

The students said they weren't always sure they were getting anywhere. "We were first supposed to appear at the board's June 4 meeting, but somehow we didn't get on the agenda," said John Oren, one of the students.

At the board's June 18 meeting the students presented their arguments for a boycott, but they were told to come back two weeks later after the board had time to think it over and get a recommendation from the school administration.

"At times I felt we were being put off," Mahoney said, "but I guess that's part of the process we had to learn."

The students, whose numbers had dwindled from 18 to four because of summer vacations, returned last Tuesday to hear a report from the chief dietitian, Mrs. Virginia Ball, who said in a memo to the board that substitutes for head lettuce would be too expensive, and to hear Supt. George P. Young recommend there be no boycott.

Young also said at the meeting,though, that he would endorse whatever the school board decided.

After a short discussion and comments from the students and a United Farm Workers' representative who said Mrs. Ball's price estimates were a year old and didn't account for the past year's inflation, the board voted 5 to 2 to initiate a boycott.

"We actually did it," Carol Berde, one of the students, beamed after the vote. "I never thought we would, but I guess the system does work."

Reprinted with permission from the Minneapolis Star.

Starting in September, there will be no head lettuce used in public school lunches. "The kids will probably be eating a lot more cole slaw and celery and carrot sticks," Mrs. Ball said, "and we'll be substituting leaf lettuce, endive and escarole," she said.

Young and board members Emery Barrette and Howard Guthmann, who opposed the boycott, all said they sympathize with the migrant workers' cause, but feel that as public officials these views should not be imposed on other people through a boycott.

James Griffin, a board member who voted for the boycott, said, "I think we have to have a little compassion for people like these and if people like us don't provide the leadership, who will?"

All of the board members and Young complimented the students on their research and their presentation to the board. "They really did their homework on this one," said Board Chairman Mrs. G. Theodore Mitau.

Title: Political Action
Topic: Lobbying in the Minnesota Legislature

Source: From the MPIRG Lobbying Kit
Minnesota Public Interest Research Group
3036 University Ave. S.E.
Mpls., Mn. 55414, (612) 376-7554

INTRODUCTION

Do the bills and issues affecting the Minnesota Legislature have anything to do with you, a Minnesota college student, housewife or businessman? Do you feel that you can afford to sit back and remain unconcerned about what is being done with your money, by the representative you helped elect, over issues that, sooner or later, will come to grips with you and your future existence?

Or do you feel that perhaps you can--and should--become involved in a vital process that, like it or not, does have a direct bearing on your present and future life as a Minnesota citizen? If so, then consider the idea behind this kit: becoming a full-fledged lobbyist for a bill which for you holds great impact over your life and the lives of those around you. Just what is a lobbyist? He or she could be defined as an individual representing himself/herself or a concerned group, who, through direct personal action, seeks to influence current legislation that the individual and/or organization feels strongly affected by. A lobbyist is also an 'information center' for his/her legislator(s). Believe it or not, you as a lobbyist are a most important source of information to your Senator or Representative. Much as he'd like to, a legislator simply cannot attend every hearing, read every piece of literature and be up on the latest voter feeling about his piece of legislation. You as a well-informed lobbyist can help fill in lot of gaps that could have positive effects on the way the legislator will act in the final outcome concerning the issue you or your group is lobbying for. Lobbyists and lobbying groups can be extremely influential when it comes to getting what they want. But only informed and knowledgable lobbyists can get the job done, lobbyists who know what they're about. And that's where the MPIRG Lobbying Kit comes in. It is a portfolio of lobbying 'essentials' designed for those to whom the thought of personally attacking Capitol Hill might seem a little far-fetched, if not downright overwhelming. But with the help of some concerned friends, some well-planned organizational strategy and the information contained herein, you <u>can</u> make your voice heard to legislators on issues that most concern you. DO NOT feel that you have no say in what is taking place up on Capitol Hill these days. A legislator can hardly refuse to listen to those who helped put him/her into office and to those who can become invaluable information centers to him/her.

ORGANIZING PERSPECTIVES:

PLANNING, PEOPLE AND PUSH

Now that you've read the introduction and become familiar with the general purpose of lobbying, consider the following: What can you, as the campus representative for MPIRG, do on your own level--i.e., the organizational--to get a forceful lobbying movement set up on your particular campus? The answer to this is not so difficult as you probably think.

Your role, as the "organizer," will focus mainly on set-up, rather than follow up, because once you've organized a strong lobbying movement its own force of momentum will soon be carrying it smoothly along--provided that the initial planning and push behind it were strong enough in the first place.

This is where you and MPIRG's Lobbying Kit come in. The kit provides you with information and useful tips while you provide the planning, the people and the push needed to put everything to its fullest possible use in a lobbying movement. The parable of the tiny mustard seed can be brought to mind here, for if such an insignificant beginning can produce such big results, so can your lobbying effort in the long run. How is it possible for a single "mustard seed" (YOU--MPIRG organizer) to start a lobbying movement that will grow into a big enough "tree" to have some "deep rooted" effects up on Capitol Hill?! Read on! The following may help in setting up some organizational guidelines:

1. The Planning

This is the backbone, the "trunk" of your lobbying effort. The foresight and resourcefulness you exercise in this area will determine the successfulness of your final lobbying evaluation.

Pull together a small core of people -- 'contacts' you know fairly well, 'reliables' who keep up with and are interested and/or involved in MPIRG developments. After a bill has been decided upon, it will be these people, along with you, who can be counted upon to act as organizers, key information centers and 'promoters' for generating other peoples' involvement in your cause.

2. The People

If planning is the "trunk" of your lobbying effort, then the people behind it are its lifeblood, its branches and offshoots. Without their involvement and dedication, your "tree" would soon wither and die. Your 'people power' should have a well-organized division of labor with everyone carrying out their delegated responsibilities--don't bother with those who profess to be involved but won't follow through on their responsibilities, even if it merely comprises a few phone calls. Those unmade calls could turn out to be very costly in the long run! Your planning and overall management when dealing with everyone at this level should produce a dedicated and organized movement. You, as the

prime 'mover,' draw the 'core' people, campus contacts and reliable friends; they in turn each draw a friend or friends willing to do what might turn out to be a lot of 'busy' work but which nonetheless has to be done by somebody; and these workers in turn can draw in a 'friend of a friend of a friend' type, who, although not vital organizational components, can nonetheless perform important functions at some time or another. Even if it only involves a single instance, a 'friend of a friend' can be of great help simply by being in the right place at the right time. These example are drawn to show you that your organization can mushroom from a few core people to hundreds --it doesn't have to remain small to remain effective.

3. The Push

Here is what will make your "tree" attain its final, successful goal--the push, the driving force that lies behind planning and people. The impetus you initially give to your lobbying movement and the more in turn that everyone else involved pushes it along will most likely determine its final outcome. Success or failure? That is strictly up to you, your organization and the drive and dedication you put into your lobbying effort. Remember the mighty mustard seed, and that mountains have been made out of Capitol hills.

Section 1: HOW TO LOBBY

"There is simply no substitute for the voice of the voter". (From "How to Influence Your Congressman," G. Alderson, Friends of the Earth).

But how you get your lobbying effort to exercise its voice is the crucial factor in determining its effectiveness as a lobby. Following are the three main ways in which you can get people to become realities to their legislators:

1. A letter or telegram
2. A persuasive conversation (either phone and/or face-to-face)
3. A follow-up letter and/or conversation.

Now tips for helping your group effectively carry out its work in the three areas outlined above:

I. <u>The Letter</u>

The letter should fulfill a two-fold purpose: 1) impart useful information to the legislator about the bill you are lobbying for; and 2) influence the legislator enough so that he will come to vote on the bill the way your group wishes. You may not influence the legislator enough in the first letter (or even the last) but at least you have made a step in the right direction. So to be sure that your letters get across the impact and information you want, have the letters written with the following points kept in mind:

a) State the particulars of the bill, its name, House and Senate file numbers, and short summary (abstract) of its purpose.

b) Become familiar with all aspects of the bill, its pros and cons and also the legislators' position on it. Find out how the legislator voted on related issues in the past. This way, a form reply letter may be avoided by your being able to ask specific and concise questions regarding the bill. It also demonstrates to the legislator that the letter-writers are concerned enough about the issue to do some extra homework on it.

c) A well researched, informative letter can become an invaluable aid to the legislator, especially on environmental issues about which he cannot possibly know all there is to know. By giving him/her strong, factual and concise information, you can provide your legislator with the information he/she needs to withstand argumentation and debate over your bill and to then vote properly on it.

d) Give intelligent reasons for your position and mention the bill's possible impact on the legislators' constituents, the people who put him/her into office.

e) In general, be helpful and never threatening. "The best threat is the unvoiced one that consists of a pile of thoughtful letters asking the legislator to take a stand; he knows that those WRITERS will be voting in the next election." ("How to Influence Your Congressman', ibid.)

II. The Persuasive Conversation:

The persuasive conversation, which can take place either over the phone or by personally confronting the legislator on Capitol Hill, should make use of all of the points mentioned above. Lobbyists taking this personal approach should always remember to be especially courteous, to be well-informed and articulate so that the possibility of a sticky situation ever arising can be ruled out.

Sections 2,3, and 4 of this kit are compilations of information in regard to the "Who, Where, When and Hows" of reaching legislators. The best way to see a legislator is to make an appointment to see him/her at his/her office on Capitol Hill. Or, if you live far from St. Paul, make it a point to corner the legislator when he/she returns to the home turf, which can be often as most legislators like to keep in touch with their constituents. Hopefully, the following sections will provide all the necessary information needed to track down your legislators in person.

III. Follow-up

Once contact has been made with the legislator(s), it is extremely important to keep in touch and follow up on any action taken. Do not harass legislators, but do not feel that your bill is 'home safe' just because some concerned letters have been written or personal contact has been made with the right legislators. Follow that bill through to the end, keeping a close watch on all develoments and maintaining a constant communicative network through letters, visits to the Capitol whenever possible, newspaper clippings and just informed people who can always be available for up-to-date information on the status of your bill.

If, in the end, you feel that your legislator(s) did his/her part, be sure and let him/her know of your appreciation and offer to keep in touch over any future related issues. However, if you feel that things could possibly have turned out better because the legislator failed to take action one way or the other, get in touch and try to find out what went wrong. Either way, at least your lobby will have the satisfaction of knowing that it's become a reality to some legislators, and that voters' voices count in our legislative processes.

Section 4: NOW THAT YOU'RE DOWN AT THE LEGISLATURE.....

This section should be of help to you now that you've made it down to the Capitol Building itself . . . Read on!

1) General Information:

HOUSE

1. Chief Clerk's Office - Room 211 - Tel. 296-2314

   From this office you get copies of House bills, House journals, calendars, committee schedules and assignments, and lobby registration cards, report forms for lobbyists. (For map of Capitol and pictures of legislators go to information desk on main floor off Rotunda.)

2. House Index - Room 211 - Tel. 296-6646.

   To locate a bill - find out number, authors, status, committee assignments, call Index.

3. Committee meetings and information on agenda - posted outside Rooms 211
   10 (minority)
   17 (majority)

4. For changes in agenda or to make sure meetings are being held, call office of Chairman of Committee and check with Chairman's secretary.

5. There are 75 subcommittees of standing committees. These usually don't put out a printed report of their interim work.

   One can check House Research Department for information on these sub-committees' work.
   Permanent Interim Commissions will have printed reports available - House Research Department - 18G (through the door of 17G). This department will bemoving to the basement in the future. Tel. 296-6753.

SENATE

1. Secretary of the Senate - Tel. 296-2343 Room 234

2. Get copies of bills, calendars, senate proceedings, committees, committee assignments and lobbying registration cards and report forms.

   Index - Room 234 - Telephone 296-2887

   To learn status of bills, authors, numbers, etc.

3. Senate Counsel - Room 107s - Tel. 296-2511.

For information on reports an interim studies.

4. Committee meetings information and agenda will be put up on bulletin boards in the 2nd floor corridors several places as well as outside of Secretary of Senate office.

2) It is vital that you sign up in the chief clerk's office (Room 211) for lobbying as soon as you get down to the Capitol or if you intend to do anything at all in regard to your bill. There are several advantages to having your name on record as a lobbyist, two of the most important being that: 1) you can be quickly contacted when something comes up about your bill and you're not around; and 2) if you should testify before a committee about your bill (and this can be an extremely important method of getting support for your bill), the committee can throw out everything you've ever officially said or done regarding your bill because you weren't registered as a lobbyist.

3) HOW TO GET THE MOST OUT OF A COMMITTEE MEETING:

1. Committee schedules are printed at the beginning of the session. The standing committees meet on a regular basis at their scheduled times. The sub-committees are scheduled by the committe chairman and a schedule of these meetings may be obtained from the committee secretary.

2. When you arrive at the Capitol check the committee schedule on the bulletin boards outside of room 211, 10 and 17(House) and outside of the Senate Index.

3. If you don't have one already, get a copy of the bill or bills to be heard. You can look at a copy in the House Index. The Phillips Legislative Service provide copies at a nominal charge. The chief author often has copies of his bill available.

4. Arrive early enough at the meeting so that you can:

   a. identify committee members as they take their places.
   b. identify other persons who will tesiify.

Legislators wear name tags but unless you sit near the fron you may have trouble reading them. If you go to enough hearings held by the same committee, you will get to recognize not only the legislators, but other lobbyists and interested persons.

Pictures and seating arrangements in the charbers are available at the information desk on the first floor shortly after the start of the session.

5. Once hearing is under way pay strict attention (DON'T BUZZ!), take notes on who said what if you can, and try to get the gist of arguments pro and con, questions that committee members ask and the tenor of committee reaction.

HOUSE COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
COMMITTEE ON CITY GOVERNMENT
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
COMMITTEE ON CRIME PREVENTION
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENTAL PRESERVATION AND NATURAL RESOURCES
COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND INSURANCE
COMMITTEE ON GENERAL LEGISLATION AND VETERANS' AFFAIRS
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS
COMMITTEE ON HEALTH AND WELFARE
COMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION
COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY
COMMITTEE ON LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS
COMMITTEE ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT
COMMITTEE ON METROPOLITAN AND URBAN AFFAIRS
COMMITTEE ON RULES
COMMITTEE ON TAXES
COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION

SENATE COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES
EDUCATION
FINANCE
GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS
HEALTH, WELFARE AND REHABILITATION
JUDICIARY
LABOR AND COMMERCE
LOCAL GOVERNMENT
METROPOLITAN AND URBAN AFFAIRS
NATURAL RESOURCES AND AGRICULTURE
RULES AND ADMINISTRATION
TAXES AND TAX LAWS
TRANSPORTATION AND GENERAL LEGISLATION

Topic: Executive Lobby
Title: Tom Kelm: A Man Who Knows How to Line up the Troops
Source: Minneapolis Star, Monday, Feb. 11, 1974
By Peter Ackerberg, Staff Writer

Tom Kelm, says his boss, Gov. Wendell Anderson, "Is one of the brightest, most decent, competent, hard-working public officials I've ever met."

Others feel differently about the governor's executive secretary, chief staff aide, strategist and lobbyist.

"He's sort of the Boss Tweed of the governor's office," says Rep. Ernest Lindstrom, Richfield Republican and former House majority leader.

"He's probably the only blemish on the governor's record," says George Conzemius, Senate DFL majority whip.

"If he's not a win-at-any-price guy, he's very close to it," says a DFLer who once lost a major political encounter with Kelm. "It takes him to the edge of questionable conduct from time to time."

Kelm has made enemies across the state since 1948 when he first entered politics at the age of 18 to volunteer his services for a DFL congressional campaign.

But he also has won many friends. They respect him for his political savvy, his ability to organize supporters, negotiate compromises and win votes.

"He's a fine guy, a master of the political system and the best executive secretary in my recollection," says David Durenberger, a Republican who served as executive secretary to Gov. Harold LeVander.

"He fights hard and he lines up the troops, there's no question about that," says Forrest Harris, a member of the DFL executive committee who has often taken the opposite side to Kelm in political battles. "But Tom has never dealt unfairly with me."

Kelm looks and acts the way a political boss might. He stands 6 feet tall and weighs 249 pounds. A cigar would fit the caricature better, but Kelm prefers cigarettes. His chubby face is often seen only through a swirl of cigarette smoke. He likes to try his luck at the gambling tables of Las Vegas once or twice a year.

When Kelm talks, his meaning is rarely unclear. He is not subtle. Charm and tenderness is not what he is known for. He is forceful and blunt.

Kelm looks straight on - almost defiantly - at the person he is speaking to. His face blushes to a shade or two deeper than cotton candy when he is excited or angry, one of the few outward signs that Kelm might somewhere be vulnerable.

Some suspect he has a soft and sentimental streak.

"I guess I feel that inside that big frame there's a marshmallow," says Koryne Horbal, a member of the National Democratic Committee and coordinator of the DFL Feminist Caucus. "But I might be wrong."

Kelm is more than a gruff and thick-skinned politician.

He lives with Mary, his wife of 23 years, in Chaska, and in addition to four daughters ranging in age from 12 to 22, the Kelms in recent years have been sort of foster parents to Brandon, a 3-year-old born illegitimately to a Minneapolis woman.

For two years, Brandon spent more time with the Kelms than with his mother, but now, as he grows older, the Kelms are helping the mother and encouraging her to assume more responsibility for Brandon.

"We kind of think of him as part of our family," Kelm said. "He's a beautiful little boy."

Kelm spoke of him briefly during an interview in his spacious office adjacent to the state Capitol office of the governor.

"When it comes to such things as human rights, civil rights, I don't take a back seat to any of my liberal friends," Kelm said.

"I just refuse to have it hanging on my sleeve all the time. It's not how you talk, but maybe it's the little things you can do in private that nobody ever knows about that really count when it comes to the area of social reform and social consciousness."

Kelm says he fears the adverse affect on his family of news media accounts about his activities "that can leave the wrong implication."

In May 1973, Sen. Charles Berg of Chokio, then a Republican but now an independent, accused Kelm of offering a "bribe" to vote for a highway bonding bill. Kelm offered to build Hwy. 12 from Willmar to Benson if Berg would vote for the measure, Berg asserted. Kelm vigorously denied the charge. A suggestion by one Republican leader that legal action might be taken against Kelm never materialized.

In September, Kelm denied he had illegally used corporate funds for political purposes during the 1970 campaign in which he was a top aide to Anderson. As president of the now defunct Polar Panel Co., Kelm in 1970 hired Anderson and DFL campaign aides. Kelm said they were hired for company business, not political activities. Republicans hired an attorney to explore the possibility of legal action against Kelm, but so far no formal charges have been lodged.

"It's not pleasant to be told by your daughter in college that a story about your father is used as a subject matter in a political science class," Kelm said.

During a legislative session, Kelm's main job is to help get the governor's proposals approved. Many at the Capitol think he is more likely to use threats and pressure than persuasion in lobbying.

Anderson believes this image is largely due to the way Kelm looks. "It's always easy when you don't have any other basis for doing so to make a charge that might fit a person's physical mold," says Anderson.

Kelm says some of his critics confuse political horsetrading, which he calls a minor technique, with pressure tactics. Others are sore losers, according to Kelm.

"I suppose to a lot of people I have a.....oh, how do I express it? I come on strong, I come on hard....

"In order to get things done you have to....sometimes respect the position of someone else and say, 'All right, I'll help you get this done if you help me get this done.'

"As long as I don't think what they want is immoral or wrong...I have no aversion to saying, 'If I can help you with this, I'll do it.' Or when you may suggest to someone at times, 'Yeah, I'll help you on your project...now I'd like some support for this position.'

"There's nothing wrong with that."

Are you guided by a win-at-any-price attitude? Kelm was asked.

"If you work hard, strongly believe and beat someone once in a while, you'll have that statement made about you," Kelm said. "I don't think it's possible not to. If you lose they'll never make that statement about you.

"I always challenge anybody when they talk to me about using strong tactics. There are two types of people I have a very hard time dealing with, and whom I will never get in the same bed with or be friendly with.

"That's the radical left and the radical right because these are two groups who believe their cause is so right they can do anything, use any means to win."

Berg, the senator who accused Kelm of offering a bribe, calls Kelm a "ruthless operator." Kelm "is the best thing Republicans have going for them," he adds.

Berg, a lobbyist for the Minnesota Real Estate Taxpayers Association during the 1971 session, believes Kelm tried to get him fired.

Kelm says he spoke to Jerry Deal, then executive director of the taxpayers association, about Berg. "I did not ask Deal to fire him. I just complained bitterly about that approach and said I don't think the individual (Berg) was serving the constituency that was paying him."

Deal says if Kelm had suggested firing Berg, "I would have told him (Kelm) to go to hell." Because Berg refused to follow directions from the taxpayers' association he was not retained as a lobbyist, according to Deal.

Ms. Horbal has worked with Kelm for many years and in 1972 was, like Kelm, a Humphrey delegate at the Democratic presidential nominating convention.

"Our relationship has always been honest and open," she says.

She recalls how Kelm unleashed his fury one night last year at Fiorito's, a St. Paul drinking and dining spot.

Kelm angrily denounced the new formed DFL Feminist Caucus because Ms. Horbal had suggested the possibility of withholding support from DFL candidates who don't support the organizations positions and of working for other candidates, says Ms. Horbal.

"He's much more interested in power and I more in issues and what the party stands for," Ms. Horbal says. "He's much more interested in making a majority and using the party for a mechanical tool.

"We're coming to the end of an era in which Tom has been effective, an era in which the strong leader is able to bring a segment of the party along with him.

"Tom is a technician who goes and sees which way the wind is blowing.... Politics should be a human art, not just a cold game of electing people."

"I try to appeal to people's hopes and rights; Tom appeals to their fears."

Kelm, asked to respond to Ms. Horbal's last assertion, said he didn't use any different tactics than normally when lobbying last session for ratification of the equal rights amendment, a measure Ms. Horbal also lobbied for.

"I think people who make a statement like that - I take the high road and somebody else takes the low road - are people who couldn't get the job done," Kelm said.

"And because they can't get the job done who gets hurt? They themselves don't get hurt because they sit with their sanctimonious pride saying 'I wasn't willing to compromise, I wasn't willing to talk to people and use practical approaches - not threatening approaches - to make my point.'"

DFLer Harris has been on the losing side of many party battles. Kelm was often an effective part of the winning side.

When Harris in 1966 backed Lt. Gov. A.M. (Sandy) Keith for governor, Kelm was in the camp of Karl Rolvaag. When Harris in 1968 sought the presidential nomination for Eugene McCarthy, Kelm was working for Humphrey. In 1972, Harris worked for Sen. George McGovern while Kelm did what he could to gain the party's presidential nomination for Humphrey.

"Tom has never used unfair tactics in dealing with me," Harris says. "I've heard people say things (about unfair tactics), but I've never had that kind of evidence."

Harris contends Kelm "has been a pretty rational character in determining what is possible and what is not." He points to the area of corrections, and the governor's appointment in 1971 of Corrections Commissioner David Fogel, a controversial reformer.

"I know there was a lot of opposition to Fogel and I know that Tom went to bat for bringing him in and shaking things up," Harris says. "There was no great political advantage to be gained from that and it certainly tended to increase my respect for Tom."

Kelm's office wall has a picture of Harry Truman. Kelm said Truman is his political hero and that he has probably read every published book about him.

It was Truman who had a motto on his desk: "The Buck Stops Here."

Kelm, on the day he was interviewed recently, had on his desk a Senate roll-call listing those who voted for and against a certain bill.

It is one of the ways Kelm keeps track of his friends and enemies.

Reprinted with permission from the Minneapolis Star.

Topic: Lobbyists in the Minnesota Legislator
Title: 1,200 Lobbyists Working for Love or Money
Source: The Minneapolis Star, Tues., Jan. 22, 1974, by Pat Marx

Editor's Note: Pat Marx was a lobbyist in the 1971 and 1973 sessions of the Minn. Legislature for the Joint Religious Legislative Committee, a public interest lobby of the Minnesota Catholic Conference, the Minnesota Council of Churches and the Minnesota Rabbinical Association.

There are more than 1,200 lobbyists registered at the Minnesota Legislature representing groups ranging from the Twin Cities Old Timers Club to large corporations like Honeywell.

Lobbyists are hired by turkey growers, truck drivers, teachers and Twin City Federal. They range from a 20-year-old woman to an 82-year-old man, earning from nothing to $45,000.

Stephen Endean, 25,for example, is a novice, unpaid, full-time lobbyist for the Gay Rights Legislative Committee while Robert Thornberg, 60 has lobbied for the Minnesota Petroleum Council for 18 years and earns more than $26,000 a year.

Most registered lobbyists are concerned about only one or two bills, according to Paul Johnson, a member of the state Senate staff. There are 102 individuals registered who said they were associated with no group or employer.

Most others are volunteers for groups such as the League of Women Voters, which has 32 registered lobbyists, and the Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, with 11 registered lobbyists.

"Rarely did many of these individuals come to the Capitol more than once or twice," said Johnson.

Only about 150 lobbyists make a living on what they win or lose at the Legislature.

What the lobbyist does and how he operates is not commonly understood, nor is the important role he plays in the legislative process.

"They present facts we don't have and point out situations we don't know about," said Rep. Bill Quirin, DFL-Rochester.

The lobbyist's first obligation, however, is to bend and mold legislation to satisfy the interests of his client organization. Usually, his arguments, bills and information will reflect the organization's bias.

Little time is spent appearing before committees giving public testimony. Much more time is spent in drafting and re-drafting bills, lining up organizational support for the lobbyist's position and discussing legislation privately with the legislators.

Lobbying costs money - just how much is not really known.

Since the beginning of the 1973 session, Johnson said in a report to the lobby registration committee, lobbyists disclosed spending $92,459 to date.

Johnson said, however, the disclosure reports don't indicate what is actually spent by lobbyists. The $92,459 reported to date probably is too low, he said, but he was unable to say what a more realistic estimate might be.

A good share of that money is spent entertaining legislators.

Thornberg, for instance, reported spending $903 for entertaining legislators during the five-month 1973 session. He spent $315 in the last month of the session when most of the legislation was being voted upon.

Last week, Thornberg said, he treated six legislators to drinks and dinner at the Gopher Grill and Gallivan's, two favorite haunts of lobbyists.

Thornberg described that affair and others like it as "friendly" get-togethers, "we hardly do any business at these things."

In addition to frequent small meetings of legislators and lobbyists, several lobbyists will give large dinners for legislators. The Teamsters, for example, spent $840 for a mid-session dinner in 1973 at the Sheraton-Ritz Hotel in Minneapolis attended by 102 legislators.

Some lobbyists say they give such "get-togethers" and dinners to create good will with legislators and particularly in the smaller affairs to "get the legislator's undivided attention."

"I don't know of any legislator whose vote could be bought for the price of a dinner or a couple of drinks," said Rep. Fred Norton, DFL-St. Paul, who is chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.

A lobbyist's money is most influential and persuasive, not so much in actual lobbying, but in campaign contributions which may bear directly on how a legislator votes.

David Roe, president of the 200,000-member Minnesota AFL-CIO, said much of his power as a lobbyist is a result of labor contributions and endorsements.

Roe's organization spent an estimated $100,000 on legislative campaigns. But precise figures are hard to come by since labor and business groups and lobbyists are not required by the state Fair Campaign Practices Act to disclose their giving.

Sen. Jack Davies, DFL-Minneapolis describes campaign contributions as "a tax on lobbyists." Davies is chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

"They are taxes which fall on those who are petitioning the government for some special reason," Davies explains.

"Lobbyists will give to both sides, but more to the probable winner, so they can always win," said Rep. Ernest Lindfield, who was the House majority leader in 1971.

J. Brainerd Clarkson, a lobbyist for Northern States Power Co. (NSP) with close ties to the Republican Party, contributed $100 to a Senate DFL Caucus dinner last fall - a favorite means for both caucuses of raising campaign money.

Clarkson, 65, is a Minneapolis attorney who has been one of the most influential lobbyists at the Capitol primarily because he is experienced, knows the system and pays meticulous attention to the details of the legislative process.

Clarkson, who looks like the corporate lawyer he is, carries a little brown notebook which outlines every bill introduced in the Legislature - few facts and movements escape him.

"Basically, I am a mercenary," says the gray-haired, conservatively dressed Clarkson.

"What the board tells me to fight, I will fight. When they tell me not to fight, I don't," Clarkson says.

As a true professional, Clarkson rarely speaks publicly, preferring to meet in a legislator's office where they can quietly discuss Clarkson's positions.

The stakes of winning or losing can often be high and the professional in particular can ill afford to lose a legislative battle.

In 1973, when Roe's group proposed a $2-an-hour minimum wage for all workers, the retail and restaurant industry protested that it would cost them an estimated $5 million to $8 million annually. When the bill did pass late in May it was compromised at $1.80 an hour and the costs to industry were reduced to $3 million to $5 million.

Experience and the ability to compromise, Roe and Clarkson agree, are what distinguish the professional from the novice.

"If you aren't flexible and don't know when to compromise you simply don't understand the art of lobbying," Roe said.

Some legislators say the intense and hard-nosed Roe is a master of legislative theatrics.

"He's like a pulling guard on a football team. When he comes, you move," said one House Republican.

Roe, who is willing to point fingers and raise his voice, knows when to draw the line and employ a rough-edged style of diplomacy.

Roe and Clarkson are experienced. Roe has been lobbying since 1955, when he was president of the State Labor Trades Council. Clarkson has lobbied for NSP since 1951.

"You have to know the legislators to be effective and that takes time," Clarkson said. "Experience will help you know what to do and how to do it."

One benefit of experience Roe and Clarkson share is access to the power centers of both caucuses.

"Clarkson and Roe," said one legislator, "can go right to the power centers while Chuck Dayton has to go all around to get support for his environmental legislation."

Dayton, 34, and his law-firm partner John Herman, 28, are the prototypes of a new breed of lobbyists who represent "the public interest." Formerly attorneys for the Minnesota Public Interest Research Group (MPIRG), they now have formed their own environmental law firm and represent the Sierra Club at the Legislature.

Dayton and Herman do not have the credentials of Roe or Clarkson. What influence they generate is through their sophisticated understanding of the process and their "public interest" images.

"Legislators would like to be regarded as environmentally concerned and if they were remiss in their responsibilities we could go to the media and reveal their errors," Dayton says.

Dayton and Herman, like most public-interest and volunteer groups, are largely dependent on the willingness of the public to independently rally to their support.

What, according to legislators, makes a lobbyist effective?

"I appreciate lobbyists who are willing to go through the tedious work of finding the facts and presenting rational arguments," said Sen. Winston Borden, DFL-Brainerd, an assistant majority leader.

"The good lobbyist can get you to accept his position and yet he allows you to save face, leading you to believe you're doing the right thing," Borden said.

"The amateur is the biggest nuisance," said another DFL senator, "The pro will not waste your time. Inexperienced groups try to plow the same furrow."

"The professional lobbyist will not be demanding. He will have a calm approach," said a DFL House member. "The amateur must learn that the legislative process is built on compromise."

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Topic: Political Action - Change

Title: Letter Writing Do's and Don'ts
Source: When You Write to Washington (or St. Paul)
The League of Women Voters.

The Fundamental Do's:

Do address your senator or representative properly.

Do write legibly (handwritten letters are fine if they are readable).

Do be brief and to the point; discuss only one issue in each letter; identify a bill by number or title if possible.

Do use your own words and your own stationery.

Do be sure to include your address and sign your name legibly. If your name could be either masculine or feminine, identify your sex. If you have family, business or political connections related to the issue, explain it. It may serve as identification when your point of view is considered.

Do be courteous and reasonable.

Do feel free to write if you have a question or problem dealing with procedures of government departments. Congressional offices can often help you cut through red tape or give you advice that will save you time and wasted effort.

Do write when your spokesman in Washington does something of which you approve. Public officials hear mostly from constituents who oppose their actions. A barrage of criticism gives them a one-sided picture of their constituencies. (A note of appreciation will make your senator or representative remember you favorably the next time you write.)

Do include pertinent editorials from local papers.

Do write early in the session before a bill has been introduced if you have ideas about an issue you would like to see incorporated in legislation. If you are "lobbying" for or against a bill, and your senator or representative is a member of the committee to which it has been referred, write when the committee begins hearings. If he is not a member of the committee handling the bill, write him just before the bill comes to the floor for debate and vote.

Do write the chairman or members of a committee holding hearings on legislation in which you are interested. Remember, however, that you have more influence with senators from your state and the representative from your district than with other members of Congress.

The Fundamental Don'ts:

Don't sign and send a form or mimeograph letter.

Don't begin on the righteous note of "as a citizen and taxpayer." Your elected representative assumes you are not an alien, and he knows we all pay taxes.

Don't apologize for writing and taking his time. If your letter is short and expresses your opinion, he is glad to give you a hearing.

Don't say "I hope this gets by your secretary." This only irritates the office staff.

Don't be rude or threatening. It will get you nowhere.

Don't be vague. Some letters received in congressional offices are couched in such general terms that it leaves the senator or representative and his staff wondering what the writer had in mind.

Don't just because you disagree politically with your senator or representative ignore him and write to one from another district or state. Congressional courtesy calls for the recipient of such a letter to forward it to the congressman from the district or state involved.

Don't send a carbon copy to your second senator or representative when you have addressed the letter to the first senator. Write each one individually; it's the courteous thing to do.

FURTHER READINGS

Congressional Reform: The Case Against Congress, Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, Simon and Schuster, 1968, pp. 462-463.

Legislative Reform: Uncle Sam, the Last of the Bigtime Spenders, William Proxmire, Simon and Schuster, pp. 254-275.

Lobbying Costs: "Lobbying in Congress Cost $6.5 Million in '71," Minneapolis Tribune, August 20, 1972.

Political Action -- Violence and Change: "Sociologist Says Urban Riots Led to Welfare Hikes," Minneapolis Star, July 16, 1974.

Some Ways To Influence Washington from Minnesota: "Who Runs Congress," Ralph Nader report by Mark Green, James Fallows and David Zwick, a Bantam/Grossman paperback, 1972, pp. 246-288.

A Total Democracy -- How To Reform Our Inefficient Legislatures: "Instant Electorate," Robert Sherrill, Playboy Magazine, 1968, pp. 155 +.

LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES

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Introduction and Directions

Directions:

Read the Introduction and the Questions and Projects. Design a project based on the materials in this section. Don't allow the ideas or materials to limit your choice of projects. Use them to develop your own involvement or research project. Refer to the other materials as you work on your project.

Introduction:

Labels are probably used more in political science classes than in any of the other social sciences. They are also used by the media in reporting on politicians and legislatures.

This section has several activities to help the student define terms such as liberal and conservative. It also has several activities for using the terms once they are defined.

There are problems in learning to label on the basis of political beliefs. One problem is that it teaches students to simplify and if they are not careful, to label any person or any movement or solution that is unattractive to them without thinking. Another problem in labeling is that the meaning of the terms are shifting as people and the soceity change. It is diffcult to teach that society is complex and changing and that the definitions used today might not fit for too long a time.

Another problem that makes labeling a complex process is that the label often times contains both the gaol (more security) and the means for accomplishing that goals (more government recordkeeping). Labeling tends to look at the goals a person wants and label him or her on that rather than also including in that label what means a person is willing to use to accomplish that goal. The more important a goal is to you the more you might be willing to use government to accomplish that goal. It is important to try and find out what issues a person or group feels the strongest about when you go to label them. Those issues might offset views on all the other issues.

Questions and Projects

1. Make a spectrum of political beliefs on a sheet of peper like the one below. Put the attitudes towards change, human nature, the role of government and civil rights on your spectrum. (Those that want to carry liberal goals to an extreme or to use extreme methods to achieve those goals are called radicals. Those that want to do the same with conservative goals to force them on society are called reactionaries. The exercises in this section will deal more with the middle of the spectrum rather with the extremes.

LIBERALS	CONSERVATIVES
Change	
Reform must come. But only by moderate means.	The present system contains all the tools necessary for solving our problems.
Human Nature	
Society can expect the best of people	Both people and programs need controls.
Role of Government	
The Federal Government can be a positive force and its role should be expanded in solving social problems.	State and local solutions are best. Private solutions are even better.
Civil Rights	
The first concern of a society should be the rights of each individual.	The first concern of a society should be the security of each individual.

---

2. Define the terms liberal and conservative. Look up your definitions in a dictionary. Compare the two.

3. Develop a series of questions that you think will help define whether a person is a liberal or conservative.

Use these definitions and terms to do the following activities:

A. Rate yourself politically. Are you more liberal than conservative or more conservative than liberal.

B. Interview politicians running for an office or read the literature put out by them. Are they liberal or conservative in their political beliefs?

C. Read the literature put out by each political party. Label the political parties on your spectrum.

D. Interview people that you can talk to. Label them politically and then explain your label to them. Are they comfortable with your label?

E. Read the article, "Political Raters Bestow **Blessings.**" Rank the groups from liberal to conservative on your political scale that did the ratings on the politicians.

F. Look up the various groups that did the ratings on the politicans in the article, "Political Raters Bestow **Blessings.**" How much does the definition of the terms liberal and conservative depend on the beliefs of the person defining the terms?

G. Read the article, "GM, You Can Relax **Now.**" Is it liberal or conservative to want to turn from machines back to the horse and buggy?

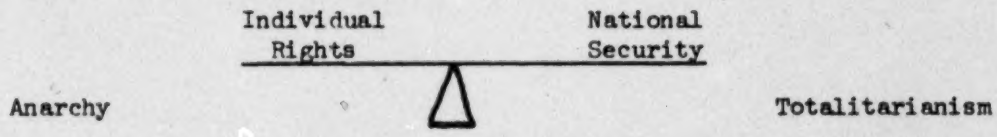
H. What is the definition of "conservative" in the article by Suzannah Lessard, "The Real Conservatism"? Compare her definition to your definition.

I. Go to a library and look at the issues of various national news magazines. Rank them on your scale.

J. Read the articles on justice and judicial reform in this section. Rank the authors on your liberal - conservative scale.

K. Go to a legislative committee hearing in St. Paul. Summarize the various views presented. Rank them on the spectrum.

4. Make a scale for just one of the factors that was used in defining the terms liberal and conservative. Make your - security vs. freedom "balance beam" - on a separate sheet of paper.



Going too far in one direction or the other might upset the balance of freedom and security necessary in a democracy. Going too far in favor of security might result in our government having total government control — totalitarianism. Going too far in favor of individual rights might result in the total breakdown of government in our society — anarchy.

A. Rank the articles in this section on privacy on this scale.

B. Make a collection of viewpoints on a civil rights issue and rank them on this scale.

C. Read the article, "Mr. Law and What?" Which way do the courts seem to be moving on this scale?

D. Review the recent laws passed or those now being considered. Which way does the legislature seem to be moving?

5. Read the articles on Justice in this section. Write to the legislatures and find out what bills are being proposed on Judicial Reform.

   Rank the various solutions on a liberal-conservative spectrum.

Political Beliefs

Source: The Young Voter, pp. 99-101
John J. Patrick and Allen Glenn,
National Council for the Social Studies, 1972

To what extent do you hold equalitarian or libertarian political beliefs? What are the bases of your political orientations? The following exercise was designed to help you to think more carefully about some of your political beliefs.

Indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by placing the letter "A" (agree) or "B" (disagree) in the space next to the number of each statement. If you are uncertain about whether you agree or disagree with the statement, place the letter "C" in the appropriate space.

Part A: Equalitarianism Index

____ 1. The government ought to make sure that everyone has a good standard of living. (A. Agree; B. Disagree; C. Uncertain)

____ 2. Every person should have a good house, even if the government has to build it.

____ 3. If poor people cannot afford to pay for hospital care, then the government should pay their hospital and doctor bills.

____ 4. Every person should have the chance to try for a college education, even if the government has to pay for this education.

____ 5. The government should guarantee a living to those who can't find work.

____ 6. All old people should be taken care of by the government if they can't take care of themselves.

Part B: Libertarian Index

____ 7. If a person wanted to make a speech in this city favoring Communism, he should be allowed to speak.

____ 8. Books written against churches and religion should be kept out of our public libraries.

____ 9. If a person wanted to make a speech in this community against churches and religion, he should be allowed to speak.

____10. People should not be allowed to march on public streets in support of better rights and opportunities for Black people.

____11. People should not be allowed to make speeches against our kind of government.

____12. Some racial or religious groups should be prevented from living in certain sections of cities.

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Which of the items in the two indices do you agree with? Write the numbers of these items on a separate sheet of paper. Be prepared to tell why you agree with these statements.

Which of the items do you disagree with? Write the numbers of these items on a separate sheet of paper. Be prepared to tell why you disagree with these statements.

What do the indices reveal about the strengths of your support for libertarian and equalitarian political beliefs? To determine the degree of your support for equalitarianism follow these directions.

1. Assign yourself two points for agreeing with statements number 1,2,3,4,5,6.

2. Assign yourself one point for each uncertain response.

3. Place the number of points you should receive for your responses to each item on the "Equalitarianism Tally Chart."

4. Total the number of points in the "Tally Chart"; this is your equalitarianism score.

To determine the degree of your support for libertarianism, follow these directions.

1. Assign yourself two points for agreeing with statements number 7 and 9.

2. Assign yourself two points for disagreeing with statements number 8, 10, 11, 12.

3. Assign yourself one point for each uncertain response.

4. Place the number of points you should receive for your responses to each item in the "Libertarianism Tally Chart."

5. Total the number of points in the "Tally Chart"; this is your libertarianism score.

To interpret your two total scores, see the "Libertarianism Indicator" and the "Equalitarianism Indicator." According to these indicators, scores of 9-12 indicate a high degree of libertarianism or equalitarianism; scores of 4-8 indicate a moderate degree of libertarianism or equalitarianism; scores of 0-3 indicate a low degree of libertarianism or equalitarianism.

EQUALITARIANISM TALLY CHART

Item Number	Points Assigned
1	____
2	____
3	____
4	____
5	____
6	____
Total Score	____

LIBERTARIANISM TALLY CHART

Item Number	Points Assigned
7	____
8	____
9	____
10	____
11	____
12	____
Total Score	____

LIBERTARIANISM INDICATOR

12 11 10 9	8 7 6 5 4	3 2 1 0
HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW

EQUALITARIANISM INDICATOR

12 11 10 9	8 7 6 5 4	3 2 1 0
HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW

What were your scores? According to the indices, are you high, moderate, or low in libertarianism and equalitarianism?

According to the indices, what is the meaning of libertarianism? What is the meaning of equalitarianism? Try to write brief definitions of libertarianism and equalitarianism which are consistent with the indices. Write your definitions in the following spaces. Libertarianism is _____

_____

_____

Equalitarianism is _____

_____

_____

Now read the following formal definitional discussion of equalitarianism and libertarianism which is consistent with the two indices.

Libertarianism refers to the protection of the right to dissent, to express unorthodox socio-political beliefs. It implies political tolerance, the willingness to grant equal rights and opportunities even to unpopular individuals or minority groups. Libertarian sentiments and practices are checks against absolute majority rule, which presumably leads to dictatorship.

Individuals who express a high degree of libertarianism support the right of freedom of speech and political action for unpopular individuals and/or groups as well as more orthodox types. Political libertarians believe that unpopular minority groups should have the same legal rights as others in the society.

Equalitarianism refers to the use of public institutions to provide more equal opportunities in employment, health, and education. Many advocates of democracy believe that civil liberties are necessary, but insufficient, guarantors of "true" freedom. They claim that freedom of speech is not a very significant right to hungry or diseased people.

A person with strong equalitarian beliefs expresses support for public or community programs in education, health care, and employment opportunities. The "equalitarian" individual supports policies which contribute to a more even distribution of wealth.

'TIS THE SEASON TO BE RANKED

Political raters bestow blessings, barbs

The rating game is something being played this fall by most congressional incumbents and their opponents for reelection.

Many special interest groups monitor the performance of congressmen according to their own interests and then at the end of the session rate the representatives.

Among those making such ratings are Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), Common Cause, and the New Republic magazine, which generally give favorable ratings to congressmen with liberal voting records.

Conservative - oriented rating groups include the American Conservative Union (ACU), the American Security Council and the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA).

Other groups which don't necessarily reflect a liberal or conservative tinge but which provide ratings include the League of Women Voters, the National Associated Businessmen, the National Farmers Union, the League of Conservation Voters, the Consumers Federation and the AFL-CIO.

Many of the groups rate the congressmen on their votes on the same issues. For example, five groups rated House members on their votes on an amendment to eliminate funding for the B1 bomber.

A congressman voting to eliminate the funds got a favorable rating from the New Republic and the ADA but an unfavorable rating from the American Security Council, the ACU and the ACA.

Other issues that attracted attention from the raters were votes on court ordered busing, an amendment to the Clean Waters bill that would have prohibited the discharge of all pollutants by 1981, a vote to delay implementation of increases in the minimum wage and the vote to override President Nixon's veto of the HEW-Labor department appropriation bill.

A vote to ban court-ordered busing is rated favorably by the ACA and unfavorably by the League of Women Voters, ADA, the New Republic and Common Cause.

A vote for the amendment prohibiting pollution discharge was rated favorably by the New Republic, ADA and Common Cause. A vote against the amendment was rated favorably by the ACA and the ACU.

RATINGS OF 8 HOUSE MEMBERS

	ADA	ACU	ACA	CC	NR	LWV	NAB	NFU	AFL	ASC	CFA	LCV
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Albert Quie, R	15	60	71	44	8	56	100	57	19	90	0	67
Ancher Nelsen, R ..	0	69	81	0	0	33	89	50	19	100	0	6
Bill Frenzel, R	62	33	42	88	36	75	90	57	19	50	100	79
Joseph Karth, D ..	92	0	7	100	90	100	0	86	89	0	50	68
Donald Fraser, D ..	92	14	4	100	100	89	9	100	90	0	100	80
John Zwach, R ...	46	21	61	88	50	67	72	83	45	78	50	40
Bob Bergland, D ...	85	0	2	100	100	100	0	100	82	10	0	50
John Blatnik, D ...	54	11	4	50	81	86	0	100	90	17	50	47

Legend: ADA—Americans for Democratic Action; ACU — American Conservative Union; ACA—Americans for Constitutional Action; CC—Common Cause; NR—New Republic magazine; LWV—League of Women Voters; NAB — National Associated Businessmen; NFU—National Farmers Union; AFL—American Federation of Labor; ASC—American Security Council; CFA— Consumer Federation of America; LCV — League of Conservation Voters.

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"'Secret Government' and Daniel Ellsberg," review of Test of Loyalty found in the Minneapolis Tribune, June 23, 1974.

ARE CHILDREN PEOPLE, TOO?

Source: Minneapolis Tribune, Feb. 4, 1973
By Peg Meier, Staff Writer

If you're under 21 and your wishes conflict with those of an adult, you may find that, yes, you have rights and, no, you don't...

She was attractive, intelligent, mature and upper middle-class. She was asking the judge for what she considered her rights - to decide for herself where she would live and with whom she would associate.

One problem - she was a minor.

The girl, let's call her Susan, spent her 16th birthday in Hennepin County Juvenile Court in a legal struggle with her parents. The case was emotional and touchy because it involved the most elemental relationships between parent and child.

Susan's parents were about to embark with their family on a sailing trip around the world, possibly for as long as four years. They insisted the girl accompany them. Susan, however, wanted to stay home and continue her education with her friends.

The parents were shocked and disturbed by the fact that Susan was heavily committed to a group of friends with diverse economic, racial and philosophical backgrounds. Also, they worried about indications of her sexual intercourse with a boy younger than she, who had a delinquency record and was of a different race. Even more than they wanted Susan with them on their cruise, they wanted to end her relationship with the boy.

Once the judicial procedure was set in motion, the instincts and emotions of both the child and her parents (all three of whom admittedly loved each other) were tempered by the admonitions and advice of their attorneys. There were accusations and exaggerations, examinations and cross-examinations.

Inevitably, the family was driven further apart. To the girl's considerable distress, her folks never even wished her a happy 16th birthday.

Judge Lindsay G. Arthur ordered social counseling for the family. But it became apparent, he said, that family reconciliation through compromise was an impossibility. It was necessary to impose a solution on the family.

But first, the judge had to answer some questions on the rights of children:

*Can a child challenge in court parents' orders?

*Can a child refuse a reasonable place of residence determined by parents?

*Can a child determine the persons of the same or opposite sex or race with whom to associate, despite parents' objections?

Or, as Judge Arthur has summed up such questions, "Should children be as equal as people?"

In his memorandum, Judge Arthur wrote, "Surely no American seeking protection of her real, or even her illusionary rights will be barred from at least posing her plea to the courts." So Susan had the right to take her parents to court.

But live where she wished? No. The law requires that children should be consulted concerning parental decisions affecting them, with increasing attention as their maturity increases, the judge wrote. "But the law does not give the child a veto power, nor should it. Family life and parental guidance would cease if each child could choose her place of residence for herself," he wrote.

The basic principle in law concerning children is that parents make the decision and the court follows the plan of the parents, unless it is determined that the plan is detrimental to the child. It is up to the parents to shape the child's life unless they are unable or unfit or unless their decisions jeopardize the health or safety of the child.

Parents also have the right to determine how a child should be educated, as long as the method meets legal requirements of a "reasonable education." Susan's parents could pick for her an education with a particular religious influence, a classical education, a progressive education or one with a vocational focus. Little is left for the child's choice.

And about friends? Judge Arthur said parents have not only the right but the duty to prevent an emotionally abusive relationship.

"Boys can be kept from prostitutes," he wrote, "and girls from pimps. In lesser degree, a girl can be kept from a boy who would illegitimately impregnate her, not only to prevent the resultant illegitimate child, but also to protect the girl from the emotional and social damage of unwed motherhood.

If the court can go that far, surely the parents can go one step further, possibly the last step, and forbid association with those whom the parents reasonably fear will cause emotional injury to the child."

So - what happened to Susan?

She was sent to live with an aunt in another state for an indefinite period of time, notwithstanding strong objections by the girl.

Judge Arthur said her parents had provided her with an above-average home but were unable to recognize the chaotic needs of an intellectually gifted and spirited adolescent daughter. He concluded that the proposed cruise would be an emotional disaster for the child and that he should follow the parents' second choice, that of placing the girl with the aunt.

And Judge Arthur has written, "If equality is the principle, if children are as equal as people, then children have the same rights to privacy, and mother should not read mail, or diaries, or insist on meeting dates. But, repeat but, if parents have a right to invade the privacy of their children, where does the inequality stop: at home, church, school, psychologist's office, or the police station? Should inequality stop at age 14, 17, or emancipation?"

Long hair. In a widely publicized case in 1969, U.S. District Judge Philip Neville ordered a Little Falls, Minn., high school to admit a 17-year-old senior with shoulder-length hair. The judge said the boy's right"to wear a hair style of his choosing" is protected under the 14th Amendment of the Constitution. The hair rule at the school required that boys have "neat, conventional male haircuts and be clean-shaven."

Since that case, Becker said, long hair has not been much of an issue in the metropolitan area because the court precedents are clear. Few court cases have resulted in rural areas, where young men are more likely to obey school rules on the subject, Becker said.

Freedom of expression. The landmark decision in 1969 concerned students in several Des Moines, Iowa, high schools who sought the right to wear black armbands as part of a protest against the Vietnam War. The U.S. Supreme Court firmly struck down the schools' refusal to allow the armbands, saying that neither "students nor teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate."

Less clear are issues such as publication of political and sexual topics of four-letter words in school newspapers. At Twin Cities conferences of high school newspaper editors, a frequent complaint is of the heavy censoring hand of school authorities.

Court proceedings. Minors are not given the right to a jury trial, a public trial or a grand jury indictment. The procedure was designed to save them the embarrassment of a trial and the reputation of a criminal. They have no right to bail. A runaway, for example, may be detained pending a hearing for 24 hours without a court order. After a court order is obtained, he may be held until he goes to court, however long that is.

A juvenile may be held on grounds that can't be applied to adults. "Incorrigibility" and "truancy" can be used to detain and institutionalize a youngster - but not an adult.

As Becker says, the matter presents some hard questions. "What do you do with a 15-year-old girl who won't stay at home, who runs away from a foster home, who's getting into trouble with drugs and boys? Do you throw up your hands, let her run wild and hope she'll come home on her own, or do you institutionalize her and hope she'll straighten out by the time she's an adult? It's not easy to decide."

The entire court procedure for juveniles across the country was turned around with the 1969 U.S. Supreme Court Gault decision. "Neither the 14th Amendment nor the Bill of Rights is for adults alone," the court wrote. Juvenile court proceedings, according to the decision, must provide some of the basic guarantees of due process - notification of the right to counsel and warning of the privilege against self-incrimination.

Divorce. Children whose parents are undergoing divorce action are rarely represented by their own attorney. Generally, the judge and parents' lawyers discuss the welfare of the children and determine custody rights and visitation procedures. However, there are occasional cases in which the divorce battle gets fierce and children are used as pawns between the warring parents.

The Minnesota Bar Association is proposing legislation to protect the child's rights in a divorce contest. Under the bill, a judge may appoint a guardian for the child during the course of the divorce action.

"The court occasionally does this now and without challenge from the parents or lawyers," said Ray Ploetz, chairman of the bar association's family law committee. "But when the fight is heavy enough, they might not take kindly to the court making sure that the child is protected. This bill would correct that."

If the minor in a divorce action is the husband or wife rather than a child, he must have a guardian appointed by the court to represent him.

Paternity. Some discussion is being held in Minnesota among judges and social workers about the rights of a father when the mother of a baby is giving up the baby for adoption. Under proposed legislation, every effort should be made to determine who the father of an illegitimate child is and to grant him due process equal to the mother's in termination proceedings. When the mother or father is a minor, she or he needs the approval of parents.

Medical counseling. The 1971 Minnesota Legislature passed a bill permitting physicians to counsel minors without the approval of their parents. The law covers a wide scope of treatment, including problems relating to birth control, venereal disease and overdoses of drugs. Most other states require that parents be notified and give approval for counseling or treatment.

Suspension and expulsion. Extremely hazy now are procedural guidelines for the school disciplinary actions. State Sen. Rolf Nelson, Golden Valley Conservative, has introduced a bill that he thinks would insure that students accused of misconduct would be assured their constitutional rights. Spelled out are procedures for written notice, hearings and time limits.

Pregnancy. The courts nationwide have generally held that a student, married or unmarried, may not be expelled from school or forced to attend a special school by reason of her pregnancy.

*

Clearly, the rights of children are expanding. Court case by court case, minors are being told they are people too and have certain rights.

But rights of children will never be expanded to those of adults, said Judge Arthur. "The courts probably won't ever say that a 4-year-old has the right to determine where to live or that a teen-ager can sue her mother for serving spinach," the judge said.

Judge Arthur, who is vice-president of the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges, said that Minnesota is "pretty far ahead" of most states concerning the treatment of juvenile offenders and granting of rights to minors.

In Minnesota, he said, "We care more about our kids than they do in most places. You can see this in other areas too - in our school programs and our universities."

Agreeing with Judge Arthur on the quality of care of minors in the state is Manly Zimmerman, a Hennepin County public defender for juveniles. He said, "A child has all the rights he needs in court. If there is a problem in denying justice, the problem is with the people the child deals with, not the system itself."

In Hennepin County, a child charged with an offense must speak with an attorney before he can admit to the offense. If his family can't afford a lawyer, Zimmerman or one of his staff of seven is appointed.

But the system that some people praise is condemned by others as too lenient or too inclined to cause the erosion of parental rights.

Gordon Johnson, chief of the Minneapolis Police Department, is one of the critics. The courts over-protect youngsters, he said. "Kids at 16 today are as physically and emotionally mature as I was at 19 or 20," Johnson said. "We should treat them more mature-like and we should make them responsible for their actions, rather than cloak the court proceedings in secrecy."

Judge Arthur also thinks that relying on the calendar is an artificial way to determine whether a person is mature enough to be responsible for his actions. "If each person were treated as equally as his maturity would permit."

That's difficult to achieve, he said, so the law is a "crazy hodge-podge" of ages indicating maturity - 16 years old for a driver license, 16 for a girl to marry, 18 for a boy with his parents' permission. And laws and court procedures for minors vary drastically from state to state and even county to county.

(Note: This story was written while the legal age was still 21.)

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FURTHER READINGS ON JUSTICE

"How Equal Is Justice?" Newsweek, October 30, 1972, p. 97.

"Key Ruling on Police Power," U.S. News & World Report, December 24, 1973, p. 55.

"New Ways To Speed Up Justice: Interview with Chief Justice Warren E. Berger," U.S. News & World Report, August 21, 1972, pp. 38-46.

PRIVACY

"At stake is whether people or the machine system will emerge as the basic unit of value in the data-bank-dominated era of the 1970's." Alan Westen

Source Unknown

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Directions

Read the Introduction and the Questions and Projects, and do the Privacy Work Sheet. Design a research or involvement project on the topic of privacy. Don't be limited by the questions and suggestions in this section. Use them as ideas to design your own project.

Introduction

Schools have information about your grade and disciplinary records, so do colleges you have applied to, as do loan companies, the IRS, state tax departments, credit bureaus, motor licensing departments, doctors, hospitals, dentists, drug stores, any store where you have applied for credit, police courts and any other agency you have filled out an application for has personal information about you.

Most of these places have computers and other data-bank equipment which could collect and store this information in a very few seconds. It could then be made available to the government, employers, and anyone else who had access to such materials.

Our ability to collect and store private information has grown at a faster rate than our ability to regulate the use of the materials. This section deals with several of the problems created by "snoopervision" on the part of the government and private industry.

Questions and Projects

1. What rights should both individuals and institutions have to gether and disclose personal information about you?

2. What rights should an individual have to inspect, correct and withdraw personal information that both public and private institutions have gathered?

3. Under what conditions should the government require individuals to give personal information and what controls should be placed on this information?

4. When a person applies for welfare should he or she have to wave certain privacy rights? Is the decision to apply for welfare a free choice or a forced action for which the person had no alternative? What kind of information is collected by the welfare in our county?

5. What are the state laws regulating the collection and disclosure of personal information? What laws have been proposed for the next session? What committee will hold hearings on them?

6. Answer the above question for laws on the federal level.

7. Read the article, "The Law and Pupil School **Records.**" What policy does your school have on school records? On what is the policy based? If you think the policy is unfair how would you go about changing it?

8. Read the article, "How Private **Is Your Tax Return.**" How private is your tax return? Has the U.S. Congress or the courts changed the rules of the IRS? What reforms are needed? How would you go about getting these reforms into law?

9. The article, "Giving the Computor a **Conscience,**" describes the National Crime Information Center (NCIC). What is the NCIC? What role does it play in our law enforcement process? Does it have too much or not enough power? What regulations, if any, should be put on the NCIC?

10. The article by Sam Ervin, Jr., Senator from North Carolina, lists various ways the government can invade your privacy and various reforms to solve these problems. Interview a state legislator on the same subject. Compare his/her reactions to those of Sam J. Ervin, Jr.

11. Make a collection of applications. Analyze the applications. Do local companies and welfare agencies have standards for protecting the personal information on getting such a standard adopted?

12. Interview different people in the law enforcement process about their attitudes towards privacy. Do the police, the courts, lawyers and defendants have similar or different views on the rights of privacy?

13. Do a research project on the subject. Develop an annotated bibliography on privacy versus security. Can you place the **author's views on a continuum?** Which are more concerned about the security of the society than the privacy of the individual? Which are more concerned about the rights of the individual than the security of the society?

Privacy Work Sheet

How should privacy investigations be limited?

Below are a number of areas in which reports of credit bureaus have been or could be used to affect a person's life:

Insurance companies use them to grant auto, life, homeowner and business insurance.

Banks, loan companies and businesses with installment plans and government agencies might use them to grant or deny loans for homes, autos, appliances, education, business costs, etc.

Government agencies might use them to grant or deny welfare payments. Government agencies might use them as a basis for awarding contracts to businesses or as a basis for granting operating or business licenses...

Determine the limits for invading privacy. Consider the following lists of items:

1. Define privacy. In which of the following cases would wiretapping be justified?

____A. A woman recently released from a treatment center for drug addiction.
____B. A bank president suspected of embezzlement.
____C. A teenager released from a reformatory.
____D. A known Communist.
____E. A college student suspected of organizing campus demonstrations.

2. Determine the government's need to know. For which of the following functions do you believe the government's need for information overrides the right to privacy?

____A. To protect the national security.
____B. To take the census.
____C. To gather tax information.
____D. To help businessmen.
____E. To protect consumers.

3. Determine limits for invading privacy. Consider the following list of items.

A. Personal diaries
B. Credit rating
C. A person's living habits
D. Student, worker, or faculty lockers
E. Bank account information
F. A man's home and his belongings
G. A person's telephone conversation
H. Contents of a person's wallet
I. A person's salary

Which of the above, if any, do you believe should be made available in the following situations?

____1. A man is on trial for murder.
____2. An application for credit is made.
____3. A man wants to buy a house in an exclusive neighborhood.

____4. A high school student is suspected of taking drugs.
____5. A man is believed to be selling narcotics to teenagers.
____6. A man applies for a job.
____7. A man applies for a driver's license.
____8. A man applies for a gun permit.
____9. A government official is suspected of giving classified information to the press.
____10. A government official is suspected of giving classified information to foreign powers.

Your Life: How Private?

Source: Minneapolis Tribune, Oct. 7, 1973
By David Kuhn, Staff Correspondent

Editor's note: Even before the Watergate investigation uncovered government-sanctioned wiretapping and surveillance, other government intrusions on citizens' privacy were being reported and questioned.

> "Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the Government's purposes are beneficent. Men born to freedom are naturally alert to repel invasion of their liberty by evil-minded rulers. The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding."
>
> Justice Louis D. Brandeis
> Olmstead v. U.S., 1928

Mendham, N.J.

Lori Paton is a slim, brown-haired senior at West Morris-Mendham High School in the hilly, wooded countryside of north central New Jersey. She was 16 years old last spring when the FBI decided to investigate her.

She had committed no crime. She had engaged in no subversive activity. She had not applied for a sensitive government job.

She merely had written to a left-wing political group, seeking information to fulfill a class assignment.

Her letter was intended for the Socialist Labor Party, but it was sent to the New York address of the Young Socialist Alliance. Apparently the FBI was monitoring all mail sent to that group, noting names and return addresses.

On March 18 an FBI agent walked into Principal Richard Matthew's office to inquire about Miss Paton.

When Miss Paton was told about the visit "it didn't mean much at first." But as she thought about the implications, "It sort of hit me more," she said. Her decision: "I'd rather fight it now than later, when I might end up on some list."

As a result, Miss Paton, her father and the chairman of the school's social studies department filed a lawsuit in July with the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). They are seeking $65,000 in damages and a court order preventing the FBI from intercepting mail sent by citizens to lawful political organizations.

Is the Lori Paton case an isolated one, signifying only that the FBI is guilty of occasional bad judgment?

Or is it just the tip of an iceberg, signifying that the constitutionally protected right to privacy is too often subject to arbitrary and damaging invasion by the agents of government, usually without the citizen ever knowing it?

There is no objective measurement available of the amount of government surveillance and government dissemination of presumably confidential information that goes on daily or yearly.

What is known, however, is that there have been numerous public disclosures of these kinds of activities in the last few years.

Some of the activities were legal but questionable. Others were patently illegal:

*In the late 1960's the Army engaged up to 1,500 plain-clothes agents in a massive and apparently uncontrolled program of spying and data collection against civilians engaged in lawful political activities.

The chief subjects were civil rights and antiwar groups. Some targets of the surveillance were inexplicable or bizarre. Army agents in the Twin Cities maintained files on Harry Davis and Louis Ervin, both respected black civic leaders. And in May 1969 no less than four agents were assigned to file spot reports from the "Whip to White," which was nothing more than a college beer bust at White, S.D.

*New evidence of more recent Army surveillance of civilians, this time against American citizens in West Germany, has been turned up by an investigator for Sen. Lowell Weicker, R-Conn.

The targets of spying and infiltration included a McGovern for President group operating a voter registration effort last fall among Americans in Berlin.

*In addition to the burglary and wiretapping of Democratic headquarters and the burglary of a California psychiatrist's office by White House employees acting in the name of national security, the Watergate investigation also uncovered the Tom Charles Huston plan for expanded government surveillance of citizens.

Some of the proposed activities were "clearly illegal," Huston, a White House staff man, had cautioned, but President Nixon approved the plan anyway in 1970, only to rescind it five days later because J. Edgar Hoover, then head of the FBI, wouldn't go along with it.

The plan included FBI burglaries, illegal interceptions of mail, monitoring of overseas telephone and telegraph communications, and intensified electronic surveillance against individuals and groups "who pose a major threat to the internal security."

Huston resigned from the White House in 1971 and is an Indianapolis attorney. He is closing out a term as a member of the Census Bureau's Advisory Committee on Privacy and Confidentiality.

*Government agents surveyed the banking records of persons who financially supported unpopular but legal political causes.

*Several studies - including the latest one by an advisory committee to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare - have called for safeguards and restraints on computerized data banks used by local, state and federal agencies.

The concerns of a growing number of legislators, legal scholars and private citizens were summed up recently by Sen. Sam Ervin, D-N.C., whose constitutional rights subcommittee was holding hearings on privacy problems long before Watergate occurred.

"Congress, and the American people in general," he said, "are only now becoming aware of the multitude of ways in which our right to privacy - our right to be let alone - is being ever circumscribed by the collection of information about almost every aspect of our lives."

The activities of private agencies, such as credit bureaus, have been recognized as potential or actual invaders of privacy, too.

But government is better equipped to do it, unless restrained. It has much of the information already - census data, tax records, military records, criminal records, phots of driver's license holders, files on welfare recipients - although it would be a costly and technically difficult task to put it together.

Other information may be obtained through exercise of the police power. This includes bank records, mailed matter and oral conversations.

Moreover, as Justice Brandeis warned 45 years ago in his dissent to a 5-4 decision permitting wiretaps, few invasions of privacy and confidentiality arise from an evil intent.

The Army surveillance program, for instance, apparently began with a desire for some advance notice of civil disturbances in which troops might be called in.

"All of these things - you've got to emphasize this - come in under some plausibly beneficial purpose," said Douglass Lea, director of the ACLU's Project on Privacy and Data Collection that was established last spring to disseminate information and give visibility to privacy issues. "People take these mandates and push them to their logical extremes and turn them into threats," Lea said.

The right to privacy is rooted in the English common law. Although "privacy" isn't mentioned in the U.S. Constitution, the Supreme Court and most legal scholars have interpreted the Bill of Rights as a privacy shield.

Frequently or occasionally cited are the First Amendment guarantee of free speech, free association and the right to remain silent: the Third Amendment's protection of the individuals' living space; the Fourth Amendment freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures; the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination; the Ninth Amendment's guarantee that rights not enumerated elsewhere are also to be enjoyed by citizens, and the Fourteenth Amendment's due-process clause.

There is, however, no comprehensive and consistent body of privacy law on the books of the nation or the states. As Arthur R. Miller, a law professor and author of a much-quoted book, "Assault on Privacy," has described it, the law of privacy is "a thing of threads and patches."

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OTHER SUGGESTED READINGS

"Big Brother Starts Watching 12 Years Early," Minneapolis Star, May 22, 1972.

"How Private Is Your Tax Return?" Robert W. Dietsch, Nation's Business, December, 1973, pp. 66-67.

"Invasion of Privacy -- How Big a Threat?: Interview with Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., of North Carolina." U.S. News & World Report, March 6, 1972, pp. 38, 40, 42, 44, 45.

"Law and Pupil School Records," Thomas W. George. First appeared in the National Association of Secondary Schools Bulletin. Condensed in The Education Digest, November 1972, pp. 44-47.

CORRUPTION

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Corruption
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Directions

Read the Introduction, Goals and Objectives, take the Welfare Quiz and the quiz Figuring Your Corruption Quotient and read the article Ripping Off.

Design a research or involvement project based on the topics covered in this section. Refer to the other articles in this section in your research or as background for your involvement. Don't be limited by the Questions and Projects. Use them as a basis for designing your own project.

Introduction

The articles in this section illustrate that almost everyone in our society has an "honesty threshold" for other people. An honesty threshold is a level at which it becomes wrong to "take" for your own gain. The threshold for politicians and other public figures has been getting lower as there are more reports in the media of corruption. The honesty threshold for the poor in our society has always been a little lower than for the rest of the society.

This section asks questions about morality, welfare and politics:

1. Should there be different moral standards for public figures than for private citizens? For poor than middle class?
2. Should morality be legislated? Whose morality? Which level or agency of government should enforce the rules?
3. What is corruption?

Goals and Objectives

Some of the goals and objectives for this section are listed below. They are not listed in order of importance. You can rank them in the order you think they should be in when you have finished your project.

The student should understand:

Why the pace of change is often slow.

Why the decisions made are not always satisfactory to those that asked for the change.

The steps necessary to bring about, stop, slow down or speed up any change in your community.

How and why organizations operate the way they do.

Why various kinds of people get involved in the decision making process.

Why "people" can make a difference in governmental decisions.

That trying to influence your society can be both very rewarding and very frustrating.

That there are more than two sides to any question.

That there are many ways to avoid making a decision.

That there are many ways to shift the responsibility for decisions made.

That there are all kinds of career possibilities available in government.

Questions and Projects

1. Do a research project on crime in our society. Is there any consensus among your authors on the causes of or the cures for crime? Is crime becoming more or less dishonest?

2. Compare the Time essay and the Newsweek article on political corruption. What are the conclusions in each article? Which one do you tend to agree with? Why?

3. Should government try to regulate certain kinds of morality? Historically, what are the results of legislated morality? What are some alternatives to government enforced morality?

4. Make a corruption continuum. Put the kinds of "white" corruption you think are almost acceptable on one end of the continuum and put the least acceptable kinds of corruption on the other. Show the continuum to at least five other people. Do they agree or disagree with your definition of "acceptable" corruption? Did you change your definition?

5. Design a questionnaire on morality in our society. Make a hypothesis on morality in our society and test it in your school or community. Try to find out if people have higher standards for public figures than they do for themselves. Do people expect more of welfare recipients than of people not on welfare?

6. You and your family live on a welfare food budget from Monday to Friday. Keep a diary of menus, feelings, and activities during the week. The local welfare office will give you the present budget amounts. Be sure and account for all food used that are already purchased, for meals out, snack foods, drinks, tips, dog food, etc.

7. Read the articles on welfare corruption. Research the topic. Find recent studies on welfare honesty or dishonesty in Minnesota. Do the figures differ from those in the articles?

8. Visit a local welfare office several times and observe the procedures. Prepare a descriptive observation report.

9. Evaluate the welfare process for your county on the Institutional Trap questions. They are in the section on "Governments, Bureaucracy and people."

10. Contact a local branch of the National Welfare Rights Organization. Visit them. Make a report on their political and other activities.

11. Contact the state or county welfare office. Compile a report on the numbers and types of people receiving aid in your local community. Where does the money come from? Have payments kept up with increases in the rate of inflation?

12. Work with an organization that is working for some type of welfare reform. Keep a diary of your feelings and activities.

13. Research welfare reform. What different kinds of reforms have been proposed. What are their strong and weak points? What kind of reform are you for? Why?

14. Research legislation and welfare reform. What kind of reform legislation has been introduced in the last session of either the state or federal legislatures. What happened to the legislation? What kind of legislation is proposed for the next legislative session?

15. Research the cost of crime in our society. What do various kinds of crime cost us? Include as many different kinds of crime as you can, from white collar crime, price fixing and political corruption to bank robbery and murder. Try also to include the costs of jails, the court system and insurance costs. Is crime in our society a positive or a negative economic factor? Be sure to define your terms.

16. Spend a day with a person working in a welfare office. Interview them. Use some of the questions in The Student Guide for Career Analysis.

17. Spend a day with a policeman, lawyer or in court as a visitor. Interview the people you are observing. Use some of the questions in The Student Guide for Career Analysis.

FURTHER READINGS ON CORRUPTION

"Corruption in Politics: How Widespread?" U.S. News & World Report, June 4, 1973, pp. 20, 22-23.

"Corruption in the U.S.: Do They All Do It? Thomas Griffith, Time, December 31, 1973, pp. 16-17.

From Harper's Magazine, September 1973.

"The Weed of Crime Bears...Bitter Fruit," Norman Schreiber.

"Ripping Off," Diane Sherlock.

"Figuring Your Corruption Quotient."

"From the Party Chiefs -- Two Views of Political Excesses," U.S. News & World Report, June 4, 1973, pp. 80-81.